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POWER AND STATUS IN SOWETO: AN AFRICAN URBAN
COMMUNITY UNDERGOING INDUSTRIALIZATION



STEPHEN SHISIZWE HLOPHE

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Power and Status in Soweto: An African Urban Community Undergoing Industrialization" submitted by Stephen Shisizwe Hlophe in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

This study is an exploratory, descriptive and limited analysis of the emergence of some aspects of modern industrial status, prestige, and influence patterns among the urban Africans in South Africa between 1956 and 1966. It is a study of the modern Nguni-Sotho groups in Soweto, Johannesburg.

The author has assumed chiefly a participant-observer approach, in explaining the social structure of Soweto. Secondary source materials, such as census statistics, survey reports, unpublished manuscripts, new articles, and "The African Who's Who", were used as supplementary material.

The study was conducted with the aim of examining similarities and differences in the traditional pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho status, prestige and influence systems, and in the post-industrial ones. In addition, we wanted to examine the nature of the influence system, and the roles played by influential individuals or groups in the informal social structure of Soweto, vis a vis style of life and informal prestige during the period of observation.

I observed that the status and prestige systems of the post-industrial Nguni-Sotho groups in Soweto shifted significantly from those of the pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho groups. The pre-colonial age, sex and family status system, based largely on a subsistence cattle economy, was overshadowed (at the time of our observation) by the

modern post-industrial, classlike status system, based on the individual's formal education, occupation and monetary wealth.

High status and prestige were largely determined by a professional (university) education, or by a white-collar position in a non-government establishment, (oppressive legislation against the Blacks had made the Government unpopular among the Africans) and by wealth measured, for example, by the size and structure of an individual's suburban home, two or more business establishments and one or more late model American cars.

Status groups and individuals exerted some informal community influence by the positions they occupied in influential voluntary associations, such as the African National Congress and the various Advisory Boards. Professional persons tended to occupy executive positions in the National Congress and played leading roles in the liberation movement. White-collar groups, such as teachers, editors, public-relations officers and entertainers, dominated the important voluntary associations. In the Advisory Board annual elections businessmen and wealthy individuals had greater chances of being returned to office than did persons from other groups.

However, in spite of the penetration of Western culture in the social structure of Soweto, some traditional customs and practices have persisted. (Lobola or bride price, slaughter of animals for ancestor sacrifices, and weaning customs were some of the few remaining.) From my observation of the community, I came to believe

that in some respects the value-system of the Africans in Soweto had not changed significantly from the traditional system. Many people still depended on relatives for financial and emotional needs. It seems therefore, that the Nguni-Sotho cultural patterns instead of disappearing as a result of contact with the West, have "shown remarkable adaptability, resilience, and vigor. . . ." (Pierre van den Berghe, Africa, 1965, p. 11.)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completion of this study is the fulfilment of the author's longfelt desire to write about the social conditions of the Africans in South Africa. It is therefore with deepfelt gratitude that I acknowledge Dr. Arthur K. Davis's continued interest and patient guidance in the systematic analysis of this study. Special thanks are due also to his assistance to the author on innumerable other occasions. I am also grateful to Dr. Sethard Fisher for his help in the theoretical sections of the paper, and to Dr. Richard Frucht for his interest and advice on my analysis of the liberation movement.

Progress in this study would have been greatly delayed had it not been for the kind cooperation of Mr. Alexander Mbatha in Johannesburg, who provided us with current statistical data of Soweto, newspaper articles, unpublished materials, photo-prints and maps, not mentioning his insightful comments about Soweto. Similarly, I should like to extend special thanks to Miss Judy Rochefort, and Mrs. Leola Crossley for their excellent work in typing an otherwise confusing and illegible draft.

Finally, I wish to dedicate this work to the African people of South Africa and to all freedom fighters in and out of the Republic of South Africa.

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CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The educated African has always received great attention from the White sector of the population in South Africa on the one hand, and from the African masses on the other. He has been regarded with fear by the White South Africans because of his constant agitation for equal rights and his competition with the European in all spheres of the economic, educational, and social life. His fellow Africans have regarded him with disgust because he mimicks European culture and frowns at his own. Current international politics have also been focusing attention at the part played by the educated African in the newly independent States. Yet there has been inadequate objective study of African elites and their place in current affairs.¹ One justification for the present study is the scarcity of systematic analyses of contemporary African power structures. Hence even so limited a scrutiny as the present one may have something useful to offer. The present study focusses interest on the nature of, and changes in the African status structure under the impact of industrialization in South Africa, with special reference to Soweto in Johannesburg. It is thus primarily a

¹Participants at the International African Institute's seminar held at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1964 on social class and elites in contemporary Africa felt themselves to be entering into an almost virgin field. In spite of their contribution in other areas, their studies of the elite were often marginal to their principal interests.

monograph on the structure of a relatively small, self-contained, industrialized, heterogeneous, and stratified community.

I. RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The following were the main research problems underlying this study of the African elite in Soweto under the impact of industrialization.

- (a) What was the nature of the power structure in pre-colonial South African society? If we sketch the kinship and political structure of pre-colonial South Africa, for the Nguni-Sotho peoples whose cultural and linguistic patterns predominated in that region, then we can better comprehend the immense and pervasive change that has resulted from urbanization. The Nguni-Sotho peoples have contributed approximately two-thirds of the present population of Soweto.
- (b) What formal and informal power groups (clique structures) could be observed in Soweto, and what roles did various key African individuals play in the informal structure in Soweto during the years of observation (roughly 1956-1966)?
- (c) What roles did style of life and informal prestige patterns play in the exercise and symbolization of patterns of power among urban Africans in Soweto during the same period?

II. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The present study is admittedly no more than a sketch of the main outlines of power structure and group prestige ratings in Soweto. Yet, because this is one of the few existing studies of a community organization under conditions of apartheid, it may claim to be a useful effort.

This study is sociological rather than historical in its emphasis on the significance of the particular for the general, and its lack of time perspective. The emphasis is not on how things came to be what they are. The aim is to describe and analyse present conditions. It is sociological rather than ethnographic insofar as it deals more with social structure than with culture. It is sociological rather than psychological in that it is concerned with the individual personality and motivations only where relevant to the structure of the group.

The author has assumed, chiefly, a participant-observer approach to explaining in a preliminary way the social structure of Soweto. This approach was supplemented by statistics, written records, small censuses and published materials as the main secondary sources of information.

Difficulties associated with the oppressive White South African regime render a full scale study of Soweto by conventional Social Science methods impossible.² The American Anthropological Association,

²Smythe, H. H. and Smythe, M. M., The New Nigerian Elite, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960. Leo Kuper, An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class, and Politics in South Africa, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965, Fraenkel, M., Tribe and Class in Monrovia, Oxford University Press, 1964.

in particular in recent years, has been much concerned with the problem of accessibility of "politically difficult areas" to scientific field researchers. (See AAA Executive Newsletter to the Fellows, dated November, 1966.)

III. AUTHOR'S QUALIFICATIONS TO WRITE ABOUT SOWETO

The author's active participation in the social and political life of Soweto for ten years (1956-1966) as a resident, has been useful in the understanding of the structure, values, and aspirations of this community. The education he received in the elementary and secondary schools was an "eye-opener" on the conditions of urban life affecting the African residents. The influence of two of his elementary school teachers prompted him to take an active interest in the ideological and political life of the Township communities. Both teachers were successful in making their students keenly aware of current issues and current African aspirations.

University education at Pius XII University College in Roma Basutoland; employment at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg; and a year and a half of research and teaching at the University College of Fort Hare in the Cape Province, brought the author into closer contact with the African "elite" in Soweto and in South Africa.

In addition the author's kinship background in Johannesburg facilitated his understanding of the social structure of the Townships. His family belonged to the royal lineage of Swaziland and were among

the first African families to settle in Johannesburg as a landowning group (1920). Because of the low prices of property at the time, they acquired several acres of property (stands) in the Northern Townships of Johannesburg, some of which became business sites. As a result of these acquisitions and the family's position in the township community, the author came into frequent contact with many prominent individuals and their families in Johannesburg. Consequently, a further insight into the past history, level of participation and status of influential Africans in Soweto was provided by these associations.

Finally, the author's participation in field studies in urban areas in the Cape Province, in Johannesburg and in Swaziland broadened his knowledge of the African social structures in South Africa. It also helped in the understanding of research in African areas and brought him into contact with experts in the area of African anthropology, ethnology and socio-economic systems, such as the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. Quintin Whyte, Mr. Mbatha, the Institute's Field Officer and Miss Muriel Horrell, the Research Officer, also, Dr. Raum and Dr. de Vos of the University College of Fort Hare, and Dr. Blacking, head of the department of social anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

IV. DEFINITION OF CERTAIN KEY CONCEPTS

The following is a brief explanation of some of the concepts which will appear frequently in the body of the text. Their usage is typically South African and may lead to some confusion among Non-South

African readers. They will be further explained as they appear in their respective context in the body of the text.

"Soweto" is the short form for South Western Townships of Johannesburg. This is a non-white residential complex with more than twenty-two locations or townships, administered by the City Council of Johannesburg and the Government's Resettlement Board.

"Township" or "Location": This is a "suburb" set aside for Non-White occupants. It is controlled by a White superintendent (caretaker) who lives outside the location. His function is to admit new tenants, collect rents, give residential permits or evict undesirable residents. Houses and property are owned by the White Authorities. There is an African police force with a White police chief who, like the other White officials, lives in a White suburb.

"Nguni-Sotho": This is a cultural-linguistic grouping of several African nations in South Africa comparable in Europe to Anglo-Saxons, Latin Groups or Slavonics. It includes the Zulus, the Swazis, and the Xhosas on the Nguni side and the Southern Sotho, the Tswana, and the Pedi on the Sotho side.

"Bantu" or "Native": Wherever these terms appear they are to be taken as referring to the Black Africans, as opposed to Cape Coloureds, Indians and Chinese. The term "Bantu" has certain political connotations. It has been imposed on the Africans by the White South African regime to divert attention from the concept of "African" which is synonymous with "Afrikaner" in the Boer language. It has also been commonly used by Anthropologists to refer to African nations speaking related languages. As a referent to a particular group of people in

Africa it is meaningless, since its literal definition is "People." In other words, if one was writing in a Nguni language the term "Bantu" would not serve its purpose. It would not refer to anything, in the same way that the concept "people" does not refer to the French or the Russians. Consequently the author has not made direct use of this concept and its colonial synonym "native," except where they appear in references and quotations. This also applies to the term "tribe," which is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as a "Group of people in a primitive or barbarous-stage of development."

"Coloureds": This concept refers to mixed blood Non-Whites in South Africa.

"Europeans": This term is often used to describe a member of the White race in South Africa.

"Influentials": "Influentials," in this context, is used in a loose sense, interchangeably with top members in the high-income groups whose annual income is roughly \$4,320 (R2880) or more; who live in suburban model homes in the African Townships, who own one or more cars; and who have a certain amount of Western education ranging from high school to post-graduate university. They are looked upon as key influentials, to whom ordinary people go for advise and help, and whose decisions and opinions are more readily followed by the community. Because of the apartheid conditions which affect most aspects of Soweto life, it is necessary to include in the prestige groups, not merely persons with significant influence in organization, but also persons with high informal prestige, standing or status. In other words,

because of the limited scope of opportunities for making top-level economic and political decisions in large organizations and corporations, the "cultural sectors" of the African prestige groups, (e.g. personnel managers, entertainers and professional artists, and fashion models and pin-up girls) take on an importance in Soweto which is relatively much greater than we would find in North American urban communities of similar size.

V. PLAN OF THE THESIS

The chapters in the thesis have been arranged with a view to analyzing social change in South Africa as exemplified by Soweto. The arrangement is not necessarily chronological since we are not making an historical analysis as such. But it draws from history to illustrate the social structures during the period of observation. Hence attention is drawn more to the emergence of occupational (status) groups and its political consequences. Our question throughout this study is whether the pre-colonial traditional structure and the industrial process really help us in the understanding of Soweto's status structure?

Chapter III outlines the nature of pre-colonial kinship and political organization among the Nguni-Sotho nations. Again, this subject is not a prime concern of the present thesis, but some description of pre-colonial social organization seems essential to indicate the extreme changes associated with the impact of industrialization.

Chapters IV, V and VI, the main body of the thesis, is an exploratory, descriptive and limited study of several aspects of community

power structure and prestige patterns in Soweto and their political repercussions in South Africa, during the period of observation (1956-1966). It is not an exhaustive or comprehensive analysis, but an introduction to a very complex subject. So far as the present writer is aware, this is the first attempt of its kind to deal with Soweto in this way.

CHAPTER II

PARTIAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

I. BASIC TRENDS IN THE LITERATURE ON AFRICAN COMMUNITY STUDIES

Literature on modern African societies could be roughly divided into three categories according to their major objectives, namely:

- (1) Those interested in outlining the kinship system of different African societies; that is, the tradition of ethnography and anthropology, as van den Berghe¹ chose to call it.
- (2) Literature concerned with the analysis of social change in Africa.²

¹Balandier, Smith, van den Berghe and Clyde Mitchell have made extensive criticism of colonial anthropology, which treated African societies as if they were static. Even when they dealt with culture contact they did so in the frame work of an inadequate theory of acculturation. This approach, characterized by British social anthropology was inadequate in dealing with societies which were anything but unchanging before European conquest, and were drawn into a vortex of rapid change during and after colonialism.

²van den Berghe, P., Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965. In this book he points out that the process of change in Africa has not been solely, nor even primarily one of Westernization. African societies have not imitated the West, but have devised a novel cultural synthesis incorporating both indigenous and external elements. Total acceptance of Western culture was not possible because its exemplars were part of the hated colonial system. Consequently, far from perishing as a result of contact with the West, African cultures have shown remarkable adaptability, resilience, and vigour.

- (3) In the past decade a number of monographs appeared, which dealt with the emergence of a class structure in modern African communities. They were sponsored by the International African Institute and they laid great stress on the emergence of an elite class in the newly independent African States.³

The methodology of many of the community studies in the African literature was that of the survey sampling type. Their statistical techniques, based mainly on interviews, were aimed at obtaining descriptive information rather than analytical information. There was a lack of theoretical studies.

The literature will be reviewed in this chapter from the point of view of its relevance to the present study, insofar as it provides a model for our methodology, and/or explanation of the emergence of status and prestige groups in Africa, under the impact of colonization and industrialization.

³Lloyd, P. C. and Daryll Forde, (eds.), The New Elites of Tropical Africa, Oxford University Press, 1966. Busia, K. A., "The Present Situation and Aspirations of Elites in the Gold Coast," International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. 8, No. 3, (1956), pp. 425-431. Clyde Mitchell J. and Epstein, A. L., "Occupational Prestige and Social Status Among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia," Africa, Vol. 29 (1959), pp. 22-39. Ngcobo, B. S., "An African Elite in South Africa," International Social Science Bulletin, Vol. 8, No. 3, (1956), pp. 431-440. Mkele Nimrod, "The Emergent African Middle Class," Optime, Vol. 10, (December, 1960), pp. 217-226. Little K., West African Urbanization: A study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change, Cambridge University Press, 1965.

II. STUDIES OF MODERN AFRICAN COMMUNITIES

Kuper's⁴ study of the Black bourgeoisie in South Africa, and the Smythes'⁵ study of the new Nigerian elite have provided a useful model for the present study, each in its own way.

In their study of the Nigerian elite Smythe and Smythe used the interview technique and the review of leading newspapers and periodicals "to discover persons mentioned in connection with high-status roles in various contexts."⁶

Names were supplied by various organizations, specialists and non-specialists in the United States, by persons in British universities and agencies, and from the biographical collection of "Who's Who in Nigeria," as well as Nigerian calendar almanacs.

By listing the names of all key individuals in Nigeria, the problem of making a detailed description of the new elite class was partially solved. It was less difficult to trace the emergence, the function and the role of the influentials in Nigeria.

The Smythes based their study on the "prestige approach." They felt that when the purpose of a study was the identification of the loci of power and influence recognized throughout the society, the prestige

⁴Kuper, Leo, An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965.

⁵Smythe, H. H. and Smythe, M. M., The New Nigerian Elite, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960.

⁶Ibid., p. 9.

approach provided a persuasive logic. Power and prestige, according to them, were closely related, insofar as the decisions of given individuals affected the lives of those under them, hence earning a measure of deference for the influentials.

The methodology and research techniques used by the Smythes provided a theoretical model for our study. It provided a guideline for the analysis of sources and data. The use of newspapers and current issues of "Who's Who" in the African society in South Africa, after the technique of the Smythes, was also fruitful in our description of the prestige groups in Soweto. (See Chapter V). At the same time applying the "prestige approach," even at a modified level, facilitated the observation and analysis of influence and prestige patterns in our sample.⁷

Kuper's study, on the otherhand, was directly concerned with a subject matter closely related to our study. We differed in the scope of the subject matter. While he was analysing various aspects of the middle-class (upper income) Africans in South Africa, our analysis concentrated only on one aspect of prestige groups in one small residential area in Johannesburg.

Kuper based his study on a broad theoretical framework and showed awareness of the difficulty to apply "class" concepts and patterns of power and control to African communities. The race situation in South Africa offered a further bias in the application of class theories.

⁷Ibid., pp. 3-12.

He discussed the Black bourgeoisie from the occupational point of view. The Black bourgeoisie to him, conveyed no more than certain objective differences implicit in the occupational structure. He analysed it with the intention of finding out whether the category of professional Africans and traders could be correlated to social class divisions in Western countries.⁸

Kuper's study differed from the Smythes' in its general descriptive approach. The Smythes made a detailed analysis of a small sample of 156 top influentials in Nigeria. Kuper, on the other hand, used his sample (Durban), as a basis for a general description of the emergence of class differentiation in the African Community.

Kuper's study was the first comprehensive analysis of the Middle-Class Africans in South Africa. It was the first study that explicitly used sociological and anthropological theories and concepts to describe the African social structure in South Africa. I have found it a rich source of information and help in the sociological analysis of prestige and influence patterns among the South African Blacks.

Van den Berghe's⁹ analysis of the various sources of conflict and disequilibrium in South Africa, has offered further theoretical (sociological) insight into the process of industrialization and its impact on the liberation movement (African opposition). Unlike Kuper's

⁸Kuper, Leo, Op. cit., pp. ix-xii.

⁹van den Berghe, Pierre L., South Africa: a Study in Conflict, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1965.

analysis, van den Berghe's was "devoted partly to a community study, and partly to a more general sociological study of the country as a whole."¹⁰ From his observations, South Africa's social conflict could be resolved to two factors: (1) lack of consensus on values, that is, "on what its people consider desirable goals to achieve," and (2) contradictory imperatives and principles regulating the main aspects of its social structure. "The Government and the White population which it represents endeavour to maintain a rigidly ascriptive and particularistic system of racial segregation and stratification While such a system was workable in an agrarian, isolated society such as South Africa was in the nineteenth century, it is clearly incompatible with a complex industrial economy."¹¹

Other studies of modern African communities in South Africa have been oriented to the description of traditional patterns.¹² They were focussed on social change from rural patterns to urban-western ones. They showed little interest in the study of the emergent African

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 7-8, and van den Berghe, Caneville, The Social Structure of a South African Town, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1964.

¹¹ van den Berghe, South Africa, p. 4.

¹² Hunter, M., Reaction to Conquest, Oxford: International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1961; Wilson, M., and Mafeje, Archie, Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963. Vilakazi, A Zulu Transformation, University of Natal Press, Durban, 1957. Mayer, Townsmen and Tribesmen, Oxford University Press, 1961. Pauw, B. F., The Second Generation, Oxford University Press, 1961. Reader, D. H., Black Man's Portion, Oxford University Press, 1961.

middle class. "The migrant, adapting the norms and values of his village to those dictated by the urban environment," as Lloyd points out, "has attracted more attention than the secondary school and university educated youth increasingly divorced from his traditional cultures."¹³

Hellmann's study of Rooiyard in 1934 was among the first strictly sociological analyses,¹⁴ to be conducted on the Africans in urban areas. The purpose of this study was the description and analysis of urban African patterns of behaviour. Its criteria for determining urbanization among the Africans in South Africa were:

1. A period of at least 10 years continuous residence in Johannesburg, Pretoria or one of the Reef towns
2. Permanent residence of the wife in Johannesburg.
3. No land rights in a native reserve or other rural area."¹⁵

According to these standards, more than 39 per cent of African workers in Johannesburg were urbanized. Whether or not this was a valid criterion is not important for us in this study, since we are interested in behavioural patterns, values and style of life of these groups as they come under the influence of urban-industrial life. From this point of view Hellmann's study was useful. She found, furthermore, that class distinctions between the middle and the lower classes among the urbanized Africans were clearly apparent. Middle class status

¹³Lloyd, P. C. and Forde, Daryll, op. cit., p. 1.

¹⁴Hellmann, E., "Rooiyard", Johannesburg, 1936.

¹⁵Ibid., in UNESCO, Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara, London: The International African Institute, 1956, p. 730.

was assigned on the basis of education and wealth. (See Chapter 5).

Powdermaker's study of the Copperbelt¹⁶ made a good description of the hierarchy of labour among urban Africans in a racially segregated context. As in our study of Soweto, the differentiation of workers was based on skill, responsibility and education. (See Chapter 5, page 4).

At the bottom of Copper Towns' African labour hierarchy were the unskilled labourers (the lashers, the underground men who shovel and load the rock after blasting, 'handle boys', spanner boys, and surface workers). In the semi-skilled category, were boiler attendants, stokers, mine police, watchmen, painters, plumbers, and tinsmiths. The skilled and supervisory employees (boss boys, skilled mine workers, supervisors, clerks, social keepers) constituted the highest prestige groups.¹⁷

Powdermaker also found certain changes in the traditional patterns of the Copper Town Africans. Instead of an egalitarian standard of living, the type of house and the amount of pay determined the worker's position in the level-of-living hierarchy. The educated skilled workers differed, furthermore, from the uneducated, semi-skilled men in their forms of consumption, their values and goals, and their

¹⁶ Powdermaker, Hortense, Coppertown: Changing Africa, New York: Harper & Row, 1962.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 89-90.

image of their destiny.¹⁸

Powdermaker's findings in this study were relevant to our findings in the study of Soweto. A similar hierarchial labour structure existed in Soweto, to a greater or lesser degree. The hierarchy in Soweto was more complex since it had developed over a longer period, under more industrialized conditions than Copper Town's. However, Powdermaker's analysis of the emergence and differentiation of this aspect has provided a useful comparative reference for the study of occupational differences in African societies.¹⁹

III. MONOGRAPHS ON THE STATUS AND PRESTIGE PATTERNS OF AFRICAN SOCIETIES

A number of these papers were edited by Lloyd and Daryll Forde for the Sixth International African Seminar at the University of Ibadan in July, 1964.²⁰ Their theme was the emergence and development of modern African elites in West, East, Central and Southern Africa. They provided data and presented problems for study in a wide range of social

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 93-94. This description of the Copperbelt Africans' occupational structure complemented Clyde Mitchell and Epstein's study of the same area, published as: "Occupational Prestige and Social Status Among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia", op. cit.

¹⁹See Chapter IV, below. The study of the process of industrialization in South Africa brings out clearly the development of this class awareness based on occupational differences, particularly among workers in the same factory. Minor differences in type of work and amount of money received gives an exaggerated prestige to the incumbents which in time tend to develop into social differences.

²⁰Forde, Lloyd and Daryll, op. cit.

categories, from commercial farmers and women market traders to foremen and merchants, as well as administrators and managers in government and industry. They made a comparative analysis of the upper income and prestige groups in different African societies.

The conference threw light on a subject that had hitherto been relatively neglected by social scientists: the subject of social class and elites in Africa. There was agreement on the definition of an African 'elite' as "those persons who were western-educated and wealthy to a high degree relative to the mass of the population".²¹ This definition took into account the obvious limitations of the concept in the African context.

It was found that an overwhelming majority of the elite were in bureaucratic employment. In the colonial period private professions held great attraction for the Africans. Private business and commerce had little attraction because of the lack of initial capital for business among most Africans and drive to accumulate such capital for investment, when a public service position offered enough income and comfort. The exception to this trend was found in South Africa, where the educated African, denied access to Government positions went into retail, trading, transport ownership and (for lawyers and doctors) private practice.

Similar findings were made by Busia,²² in his monograph on

²¹Ibid., p. 4.

²²Busia, op. cit.

elites in the Gold Coast (Ghana). He classified them into three types: (1) the traditional elite of the chiefs, (2) the literate elite of White collar civil servants and (3) the European elite. From Busia's analysis it is clear that the concept of the elites was used more loosely to mean groups occupying positions of prestige, rather than of major power and influence.

In the same manner, Ngcobo,²³ describes the development of three types of elites in South Africa among the Africans. His types were based on occupational differentiation. These were the "traditional elite", "the "educated elite" and the "occupational elite", "comparable to that of the African artisan class in Powdermaker's Copper Town.²⁴

Nimrod Mkele's analysis of the emergence of an African Middle Class could be considered the best study of this subject by a Black South African.²⁵ He made references to theories of class and status systems in sociology and social psychology. He concluded from this study that only the self-employed African professionals and traders could be considered the African elite or bourgeoisie, in the sense of controlling the means of production.

²³Ngcobo, op. cit.

²⁴Powdermaker, Hortense, op. cit.

²⁵Nimrod, Mkele, "The Emergent African Middle Class", Optima, Vol. 10, (December, 1960), pp. 217-226.

IV. AN EVALUATION OF THE LITERATURE

There is still much to be done in the study of class and elites in Africa. In time, no doubt, the application of the current research methods and techniques in power and community influence, will reveal more reliably who the elite are, what part they play in their community decision and influence patterns, and whether or not a class structure has evolved in modern African communities.

The literature has shown us the problems and obstacles to be surmounted in a search for clarification of concepts and application of theories in the area of class and status in African societies. However, the most important aspect, for our purposes, in the literature, were the different techniques used in the analysis and description of modern urban communities,²⁶ and the logical (theoretical) frame of reference underlying most of these studies.

Meanwhile we must acknowledge the fact that adequate empirical and theoretical analysis of African prestige groups are simply too scarce to be of much help to us in the present study.

²⁶We could refer to Smythe and Smythe's technique of listing elites, Kuper's comprehensive analysis of the Black middle class in South Africa, which was partly based on sociological theory and empirical studies. His analysis became useful also as source material. Powdermaker's study was of interest in that he made findings in Rhodesia which were similar to those I observed in Soweto. Van den Berghe's criticism of the literature was most enlightening.

CHAPTER III

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM OF THE PRE-COLONIAL NGUNI-SOTHO:

PATTERNS OF AUTHORITY BEFORE INDUSTRIALIZATION

Much of the information about the history and the kinship system of the pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho groups in South Africa comes from two sources: (1) European early explorers and missionaries; and (2) African folk-lore. The findings of the former were suspect and incomplete owing to lack of understanding of the languages spoken by these groups, and owing to their intuitive interpretation of the various kinship patterns and norms. A mastery of these patterns would have required an extended length of stay in each group as a participant observer. Europeans who had a good knowledge of the history of the Nguni-Sotho had either turned 'native' in their outlook, or else they did not put their experience in writing. The Africans, on the other hand, relied on legends, tales and proverbs handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Consequently, an authoritative point on the pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho history and tradition was not possible.

Small wonder, then, that the early history of the Nguni group as a whole is still a field for inquiry, but hardly a subject to be dogmatic about. The massive volumes of Bryant . . . and Soga . . . have at least achieved this also that, by coming to conclusions which can by no manner of means be reconciled, they have shown onlookers that progress is not being made as merrily as some would have us believe¹

¹Van Warmelo, N. J., "Groupings and Ethnic History," in Schapera, I., Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959, pp. 45-46.

In South Africa, there are two other African ethnic groups, the Tsongas and the Venda. Our discussion will not cover these groups, because they have been assimilated into the dominant Nguni-Sotho sub-culture of the townships of Johannesburg, through inter-marriage, close association and identification with it.

The Nguni-Group is a large ethnic referent, which includes most of the African nationality groups in the Eastern and South Eastern parts of South Africa. (see map). The term parallels "Anglo Saxon", which covers the Vikings, Norsemen, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Dutch, English and Germans, to distinguish them from Slavonic or Latin groups. The Ngunis lived in the high plateau country between the escarpment of the Drakensberg mountains and the Indian Ocean. Some inhabited the Cape Province to the South and the Transvaal to the North.

The Nguni group included 5 different nations; the Zulus, and the Swazis in the Northern part of South Africa, and the Xhosas, Mpondos and Bhacas in the South Eastern Cape Province.

The Sotho-Group, on the otherhand, included three sub-groups; a) the Basuto of present-day Lesotho; b) the Tswana of Bechuanaland and the Southern Transvaal; and c) the Pedi of the Northern Transvaal.

I. COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

The Clan Structure

The most characteristic feature of the Nguni-Sotho groups was their social structure and organization. Each nation was comprised of a number of kinsmen who owed allegiance to a king, which was maintained

by a strong belief in common ancestry. The King claimed direct descent from the unifying common ancestor. Membership in the group was maintained by allegiance to such a common ancestor. Refugees from other ethnic groups were always welcomed as they increased the power and the influence of the King. A despotic or an unpopular ruler was always in danger of losing his subjects. A case in point was that of the Basuto of Moshoeshoe, who recruited membership for their nation from refugees from King Shaka of the Zulus, around 1822.

According to Bryant² membership in the main nationality groups did not exceed ten thousand at any one time. In Zululand and the Cape some groups claimed a membership of more than ten thousand at various periods of their pre-colonial history.

The Kraal

The Nguni-Sotho kraal or household was an extended patrilineal structure whose descent was traced through men. Even in the case of an unmarried mother, descent was often traced through the male members of her family. The 'kraal' consisted of a man, his wife or wives and their dependent children, together with one or more kin from the husbands' or wives' clan. They held the same values, beliefs and traditions. They recognized certain role clusters among family members. The superior instrumental roles of the father and the head of the household carried with them a certain amount of status and prestige.

²Bryant, A. T., Olden Times in Zululand and Natal, London: Longman's Press, 1929, pp. 57-58.

All other members of the household, particularly the wives and children, were expected to show great reverence for the head of the household.

For efficient communication and control, wards, sub-districts and villages developed from the aggregation of several households in the same area. Each ward was under the jurisdiction of the headman, who in most cases was the oldest member of the clan. Headmen were in turn subject to the authority of the King with whom they constituted an advisory council. It was the duty of heads of households to attend council meetings, and to assist in the trial of cases and in the decision-making process of the region. They constituted the power structure of the village.

A System of Relationships

The father or head of the household was the unquestioned master of the homestead. He had complete authority over all his children as long as they remained in his household. Even when they were married he played the role of advisor and leader in all family matters of importance.

As head of the household, the father controlled economic affairs, legal matters and all other requirements that involved protecting the nuclear families of his wives. He was the chief intermediary between the family and the ancestral spirits. His wife and children treated him with deference and respect amounting almost to awe.

The mother was the 'tension manager' of the household. Between her and her own children there often grew the deepest bonds of affection known to society. She showered pure unselfish love for her children.

Within the immediate household a strict hierarchial structure prevailed. It was based on sex and age. Boys took precedence over girls, older boys over younger boys and older girls over younger girls. This hierarchy among the children also implied the roles each must play in the household's day-to-day activities and in the case of boys the part they were expected to play in the royal army. Among the wives, in the case of a polygynous union, the first wife took precedence in most matters pertaining to the household and was normally consulted in the selection of subsequent wives by her husband.

The kinship pattern outside the immediate nuclear or extended family also played an important role in the system of relationships. The kin on the paternal side were identified by male referents, such as 'female' father, for the aunt and 'elder' father for the uncles on the father's side. The role of the maternal aunt was closely related to that of the mother. Her sister's children behaved towards her as they did to their own mother, while in case of misunderstanding the maternal uncle was often resorted to.

II. STATUS STRUCTURE OF THE NGUNI-SOTHO

The social organization of the pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho nations was characterized by a rigid age and sex differentiation. The status system could be divided into what Ngcobo described as "the minor elite" and the "major elite". As a general rule women and girls had no status of their own. They attained status only by marriage to a prominent family. Consequently, our description of the status structure applies

only to the male members of Nguni-Sotho communities.

The age differentiation among adolescent and adult males was a distinguishing characteristic with respect to the men and the boys. By grouping boys together in their own regiment, their training was made easier, and they were given ample opportunity to distinguish themselves as courageous manly warriors. In this case they had a chance to learn the wisdom and experience of the veterans, who were responsible for their training.

The "minor elite" therefore, included all the adolescent boys who showed signs of leadership and high achievement in their respective home districts. They were normally the leaders of their peer groups. They played the role of innovators and group leaders in ritual rites, initiation ceremonies and wedding feasts. In addition they had to preside over the military training of their group, which was usually arranged in a regiment-form.

Leaders of peer groups were frequently recruited from the sons of village headmen or from royal princes. Family status conferred a certain amount of prestige to these "young leaders" which made them easily acceptable to and respected by their peers. However, a son of a commoner could also rise to the position of leadership by displaying a high calibre of bravery or military achievement.

The "major elite", on the other hand, consisted of the king and the royal family, the chief councillors and the headmen. This was the main decision-making body in the community. There was a hierarchy within this body in the allocation of power and control. Local chiefs and their headmen constituted the village power structure and had complete

jurisdiction over their community on all matters except those involving serious crimes, and entering into a war with neighbouring nations. Village chiefs and their headmen met from time to time with the King and his royal council in the royal kraal,³ to make important deliberations affecting the whole nation. Even the most despotic rulers, such as Shaka in Zululand, consulted their counsellors before going to war with another nation or passing a death sentence on an individual or a group. In the deliberation of council meetings, report was often made to tradition, customs and practice.

Status and influence in pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho society was manifested by (1) ownership of cattle, (2) size of the homestead, (3) the standard of hospitality, (4) the family line, (5) length of residence, (6) bravery, (7) quality of respect, and (8) wisdom.

The Nguni-Sotho society distinguished sharply, both in forms of dress and role expectation, between the king and his royal uncles and brothers, the headmen, the king's personal attendants, his messengers, heralds, and craftsmen. It further distinguished between heads of homestead (abanumzana), and the commoners (abafokazana), people who had nothing.

A commoner might rise by his own ability to the position of a chief's right hand man by proving himself a hero in the battlefield, or by displaying skill in hunting, or healing and in showing great wisdom

³ Kraal, literally means enclosure for cattle. In this context it is used to refer to a man's homestead within his fence. The king's "palace" was also referred to as a kraal.

in council meetings.⁴

High status for an individual was symbolized by possession of a (1) large herd of cattle. Possession of cattle for the pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho, and to a large extent for peasant Africans in South Africa today, was a sign of wealth. Cattle were the chief means of economic exchange. Payment for services or goods was done by means of cattle and bride prices consisted mainly of cattle. Possession of cattle often meant that an individual could marry as many wives as his cattle could obtain. Hence, (2) a large homestead was an accepted manifestation of wealth. A large homestead was important to a man, since it guaranteed him respect from his dependents and brought him influence in his community.

Length of residence in a village was an important factor in the traditional system of stratification in that it gave the individual not only access to all the top decision-making positions of his village, but also a greater familiarity with his fellow villagers. In this way his standard of hospitality and kindness was fully brought to test. In this context Kuper⁵ made reference to an interview with an African anthropologist, R. C. Mbatha, with whom the present author worked personally for two years in Johannesburg. Mbatha observed that the oldest families in any village received positions of importance, and had a

⁴Hunting was a seasonal community activity which was done more for sport and competition than for subsistence.

⁵Kuper, op. cit., pp. 80-85.

greater say in the councils and were generally listened to. Their influence resulted in part from wider lineage connections. If a man could show three or four graves of his ancestors he was considered very important in the area⁶ (interview, January, 1959). There are obvious parallels here to studies of lineages in North American communities - for example - W. Warner's "Yankee City" series.

Ownership of land and its uses was not a privilege of the individual. Land was granted to an individual by his local chief or headman and was considered the property of the nation. This was the base for colonial conflict for crown land and for national land between the Africans and the Settlers.

The status-structure of the Nguni-Sotho nations before the colonization of South Africa, was not equalitarian and undifferentiated as was commonly thought. Status consciousness was very prevalent, and competition for status was often vicious. Ritual murders in Lesotho in the past years and various forms of witchcraft and poisoning among rural Africans were carry-overs of traditional patterns of competition and petty jealousies.

It is interesting to note the absence of occupational differentiation in most African societies at this time, such as in Feudal Europe. The common ownership of the land by the nation and the subordinate

⁶Kuper, Leo, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

positions of women and children prevented the development of occupational classes of labourers or servants and an upper class of owners of property and the means of production.

III. SUMMARY

The foregoing was a brief description of the kinship system and the patterns of authority of the Nguni-Sotho nations before the arrival of the White settlers in South Africa. This is intended as a benchmark to show what it was like then, in order that we may better understand what changes later occurred with the colonization and industrialization of South Africa.

In the next chapter, a description of the process of industrialization and its impact on the traditional Nguni-Sotho patterns will be outlined, with specific reference to Soweto in Johannesburg.

CHAPTER IV

SOME RESULTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

I. INDUSTRIALIZATION

The change from pre-colonial traditional society in South Africa to modern industrialism was not a process that occurred overnight. It was a long and relatively slow process that started around 1960 with the discovery of minerals. It is still in progress even today, because South Africa has not attained what Rostow¹ termed the stage of "mass consumption." In the following discussion, a brief description of industrialization in South Africa will be made with reference to the African population, and their traditional institutions, the extent of the change in these institutions, and the impact this process has effected on the urban African population in Soweto.

Traditional Economy After Colonization

In the description of the pre-colonial Nguni-Sotho kinship structure an attempt was made to show the place of the individual in society, and the interdependence of extended family members upon one another. It was the expected norm in Nguni-Sotho society for members of the same lineage to provide for one another. Poverty was of much

¹Rostow, W. W., The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

concern to the individual, because it meant dependence on a relative and subordination to him, as the price of escaping starvation and loss of 'class.'

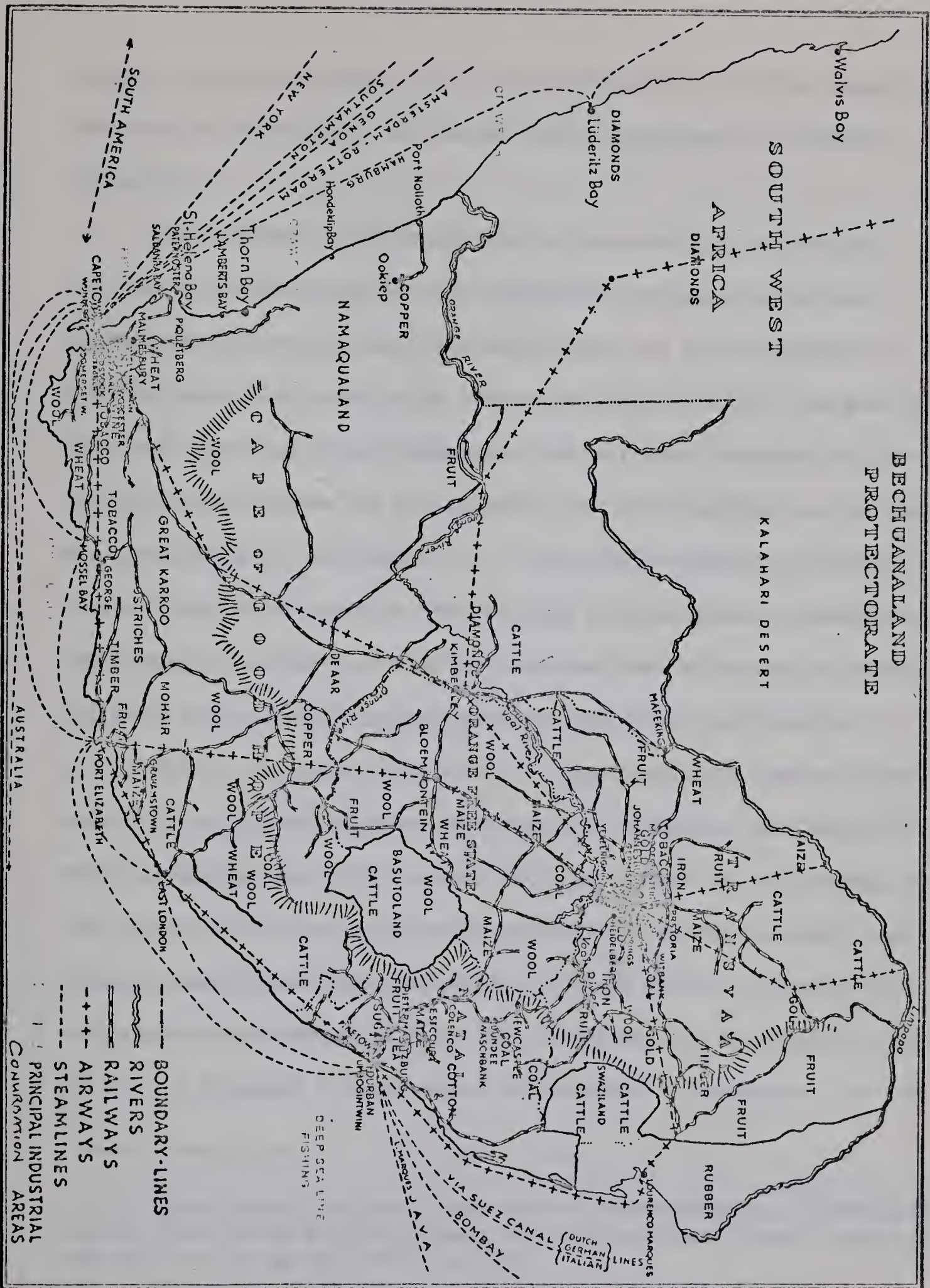
Pre-colonial African economy was a subsistence economy. Land, the major unit of production, was available to all on a usufructuary basis. There were no markets, and thus no exchange, except for a system of barter. Cattle was accumulated mainly for prestige reasons and as the chief medium of exchange in payment of the bride price. The consumption of meat, milk, and hides was a secondary by-product of live stock ownership. The entire network of matrimonial exchanges, and the whole kinship structure, and the legal system, revolved around it.

Before the discovery of gold and diamonds, cattle and land were the scarce resources greatly in demand for both White Settlers and Africans. Sheep farming and its resultant wool industry introduced another commodity for export and subsistence. Wool exports rose between 1946 and 1966 from \$542,000 to \$2,246,000. Hence a need for cheap unskilled labour was created.²

Traditional agrarian economy did not change significantly as long as the White settlers kept in their own areas. Cattle raids by frontier farmers on the Blacks during the early part of the nineteenth

²Hobart Houghton, D., The South African Economy, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 12.

ECONOMIC MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA



century had little effect on the traditional way of life except that they forced the African to become better organized for further resistance.

The arrival of missionaries in South Africa in 1819 had important repercussions on the traditional economic structure. Hutchinson points out that "the missionary was nevertheless out of sympathy with many aspects of traditional Bantu life." He goes on to say that, "on the whole, therefore, the settlers favoured the work of the missionary in so far as it led to the pacification and the initial westernization of the Bantu Yet, while approving of the missions because they stimulated in the Africans a willingness to work within the European economy and live in a manner less offensive to white prejudices, the colonists parted company with many missionaries - . . . on the matter of racial relations."³ Consequently a number of mission schools sprang up aimed especially at training the "Native" in Bible knowledge and trade crafts (such as carpentry, tailoring, etc.). The "success" of mission schools in turning out well groomed, very obedient and industrious graduates (or Uncle Toms, if you like), encouraged missionaries such as Dr. James Stewart to publish a register of two thousand African names of Lovedale's Graduates. In 1884 in

³Hutchinson, Bertam, "Some Social Consequences of Nineteenth Century Missionary Activity Among the South African Bantu", Africa, Vol. 27, No. 2, April, 1957, p. 160.

the introduction of this work he observed that: "from 75 to 80 per cent, at least, of the former number are now, or have been, leading useful and industrious though necessarily unnoticed lives; that many of them are occupying positions of considerable responsibility and are in receipt of wages or salaries far beyond what they would otherwise have received had they not been taught."⁴

The impact of colonization on the traditional subsistence economy under the influence of missionary work and the wool industry was an increased dependence on a money economy as a supplement to the traditional economy. Africans discovered the power of money to obtain goods for which cattle or gaining favour with the headman would normally have been the price for acquisition. At the same time many rural Africans were lured into the labour market and onto White Settler's farms. "When tribal reserves were adequate to support their population in the traditional manner, it was necessary to attract African labour by recruitment agencies or to impose money taxes, the payment of which necessitated the African's acceptance of wage earning employment."⁵ When they were inadequate because of natural increase in population or climatic conditions, legislation would normally be passed to restrict

⁴Stewart, James, "Lovedale: Past and Present: A Register of Two Thousand Names." pp. xxi-xxii in Shepherd Robert, Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century, South Africa: The Lovedale Press, 1941, pp. 213-215. The register was first published in 1894 and covers period beginning in 1841.

⁵Houghton, Hobart D., The South African Economy, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 22-23.

the right of entry into white areas.⁶

The Discovery of Gold and Diamonds as a Prelude to Industrialization

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1867 and gold in 1886 in what is today known as the "Reef" or the "Rand" (short form of Witwatersrand) marked the "take-off" stage for South Africa's economic development. (See map). Without gold and diamonds South Africa would undoubtedly have been delayed for another century or more in its economical development. Gold and diamonds according to Hobart Houghton⁸ brought on an economic revolution in the sub-continent which, with the exception of desert areas where oil was discovered, was without parallel elsewhere in the world, owing to the speed with which it was accomplished and its far reaching effect.

A huge and heterogeneous labour force came into being. Men came into the country from all parts of the world. As a result immigration between 1890 and 1913 averaged 24,000 per annum. Thousands of Africans streamed into the Rand. They were fed into the labour force of the mines, which were finding it difficult to recruit skilled labour abroad, and which needed menial workers to handle the "dirty" work.

⁶Ibid., p. 23.

⁷Rostow, op. cit.

⁸Hobart, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

A few urban centres developed, with a heavy concentration of population, which was for the most part heterogeneous, male and unskilled. Kimberly had attracted a population of 50,000 by 1907, while the Witwatersrand had an African population estimated at 294,467 with a population density of 100.1 to a square mile in 1911.⁹

The discovery of gold and diamonds, and the rise of urban centres, marked the beginning of migration of Africans from the rural areas to the mines and industries, which steadily became the basic orientation of African social life. Migration to Johannesburg and a superficial display of Western dress and furniture became the mark of prestige and a new status symbol for the rural traditional African.

The Growth of Manufacturing Industry

Before World War II industries related to mining, such as the manufacture of explosives, the production of miner's boots and certain branches of engineering, were established. It was only after the First World War that manufacture of certain consumer goods was stimulated. At this time the South African market was basically agricultural, and many consumer items were made at home; while the currently lucrative African buying power was non-existent or very minimal. Traditional patterns of life were still predominant.

The number of establishments manufacturing consumer goods

⁹Ibid., pp. 13-15.

increased from 6,009 in 1924 to 6,238 in 1928.¹⁰ They produced final consumer goods from imported raw material or semi-finished products. The size of the market, the relative amount of capital required, and other technical factors discouraged the production of raw material (fabrics) in South Africa.

The Iron and Steel Corporation was established in 1928 as an attempt at the amalgamation of various interests and the raising of necessary capital to establish, by private enterprise, a large scale iron and steel works based on local materials.

The effect of the depression was detrimental to the economy in South Africa, as shown by Table I. The number of non-White workers decreased by 12 per cent, while that of White workers increased by 4 per cent, as a result of the so-called "Civilized Policy" of the Union Government, which advocated a replacement of Non-White workers by unemployed White workers.¹¹

The gold mining boom which followed the devaluation of the South African pound around 1932 lifted the country rapidly out of the depression; and once again manufacturing industry made great forward strides between 1933 and 1938. The outbreak of the War resulted in

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 114-116.

¹¹It was argued that unemployed African workers could return to the subsistence economy of the reserves, while manufacturing industries were a White man's preserve.

TABLE I

LABOUR DURING THE DEPRESSION

| | 1929-30 | 1932-33 | Change 1930-33 |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------|
| | | | % |
| Number of establishments | 6,472 | 6,543 | + 1 |
| Number of workers: | 142 | 133 | - 6 |
| all races (thousands) | 55 | 57 | + 4 |
| whites only (thousands) | 87 | 76 | -12 |
| non-whites (thousands) | | | |
| Value of Gross Output (R million) | 157 | 135 | -14 |
| Value of Net Output (R million) | 68 | 61 | -10 |

Sources: Union Statistics for Fifty Years, 1910-1960: Jubilee Issue
based on Hobart Houghton's "The South African Economy,"
p. 116.

an increased employment of Non-Whites. Non-White employment figures rose by 74 per cent as opposed to 20 per cent for the Whites.¹² Because of this increased wage employment for cash, there was a great increase in the consumption of manufactured products in South Africa. This helped South Africa's contribution to the war effort in ship repairs, manufacture of amunitions and armoured cars.

There were four main classes of industries in South Africa during the period of industrialization (roughly 1924 to 1960): They included (a) the metal products and engineering; (b) food beverages and tobacco; (c) textile and clothing; and (d) chemicals.

(a) Metal industry had its origin in the needs of the mines for secondary products for use in the mines. It was the establishment of the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (IsCOR) by the IsCOR Act of 1928 which laid the foundations for the expansion of what later became the largest branch of manufacture industries in South Africa: steel and iron. By 1930 IsCOR accounted for 20 per cent of the net output of all industries. In 1959 metal products and engineering products brought in a net output of R299 million; and the industry employed 172,000 workers of both races, that is, approximately 25 per cent of the total number of 644,800 workers employed in manufacturing industries.¹³

¹²Hobart, Goughton, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

¹³Ibid., pp. 122-123.

(b) Food, beverages and tobacco accounted for more than 32.2 per cent of the value of the net output of all manufacturing industries in 1924. The value increased to 66 per cent in 1960 as a result of processing of agricultural raw material at home.¹⁴

(c) Textile and clothing were largely a feature of post-war development. In 1960 both industries accounted for more than R130 million (approximately 5 per cent) of the net output, and for the employment of 114,000 workers of all races.¹⁵

(d) Chemicals were divided into (i) explosive manufacturing industries, (ii) fertilizer manufacturing for agriculture, and (iii) the manufacture of products from petroleum and coal, and finally (iv) the pharmacy industry. They employed a total of 50,000 workers in 1960 and they accounted for R125 million of the net output, approximately 9 per cent of the total gross output of all manufacturing industries.¹⁶

The four major types of industries described above employed a total of 203,776 African workers, approximately 11 per cent of the economically active African population, in 1921. By the end of World War II this figure had doubled to 448,687 workers or approximately 120 per cent of the 1921 figure. In 1960 the figure was estimated at 772,000 showing an increase of 72 per cent over the 1946 level.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 123

¹⁵Ibid., p. 124

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 124-126.

(See Table II.)

Figures for the different levels of occupations within the various types of industries for the Africans showed an increase from unskilled levels to skilled and technical levels. The number of unskilled (general) workers increased from 189,790 in 1936 to 477,947 in 1951 an increase of 160 per cent. Figures for the mining workers rose from 235,134 to 438,029 in 1951, an increase of 87 per cent. Machine operators, and workers in transport (which would represent semi-skilled and technical levels) increased by 271 percentage points, from 8,679 workers in 1936 to 32,181 workers in 1951.

The larger proportion of African workers in manufacturing industries, as opposed to workers in mining industries, was an indication of an increase, not only in manufacturing establishments, but also in the level of participation of the African workers as semi-skilled, skilled, professional and technical employees. It marked the beginning of occupational differentiation among the Africans in South Africa. (This topic will be developed in the next chapter with reference to Soweto).

Some Results of Industrialization in South Africa

A brief review of the effects of industrialization will be made with reference to (i) the traditional kinship patterns, (ii) urban settlement, (iii) occupational differentiation, and (iv) race relations.

TABLE II

OUTPUT AND EMPLOYMENT OF MAJOR GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES (AFRICANS)

| | 1936 | 1946 | 1951 | 1960 |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| TOTAL 15+ years | 2,398,134 | 2,477,268 | 2,697,881 | 2,088,000 |
| Mining occupations | 388,894 | 425,884 | 438,029 | 539,000 |
| Workers in transport | 8,128 | 9,047 | 30,625 | 72,000 |
| Industrial occupations | 272,641 | 448,687 | 590,929 | 772,000 |
| Metal workers | 1,153 | 2,067 | 1,775 | |
| Woodworkers | 1,921 | 2,521 | 2,671 | |
| Building workers | 4,692 | 9,926 | 10,393 | |
| Textile workers | 3,695 | 7,277 | 5,406 | |
| Makers of food | 4,212 | 6,219 | 3,436 | |
| Other manufacturing | 4,863 | 13,300 | 8,665 | |
| Machine operators | 551 | 639 | 1,556 | |
| General labourers | 189,790 | 323,981 | 477,947 | |
| Stevedores and transport | 33,136 | 56,665 | 67,285 | |
| Other manual workers | 28,628 | 26,092 | 11,792 | |
| Service workers | 128,367 | 118,492 | 178,536 | |
| Domestic servants and others | 88,953 | 114,502 | 151,803 | |
| Not economically active | 95,649 | 126,539 | 155,234 | |
| Independent | 586 | 5,791 | 29,167 | |
| Dependents | 95,063 | 120,748 | 126,067 | |

Sources: Union Statistics for Fifty Years, op. cit., p. A-33.

Traditional kinship patterns. The development of mines and industries in South Africa had a far reaching effect on the traditional subsistence economy. Cattle, the chief means of exchange, was increasingly replaced by money. Profit and the accumulation of wealth replaced the traditional practice of raising cattle for status and prestige.

Much research is required to determine the "shift from extended to nuclear family structures, the politization and 'proletarianization' of the urban masses, social mobility on the basis of achievement and the decay of rigidly ascriptive criteria of stratification . . ."¹⁷ Causal relationships between the variables above and industrialization are difficult to establish partly because of "cyclic migration"¹⁸ and temporary adjustment to urban conditions. In his study of industrialization, Christopher found that accumulating research evidence indicated that social planners who were worried about the disorganizing effects on kinship institutions by industrialization, and those who were worried about the limiting effects on industrialization by the extended family, had been worrying about non-existent spectres.¹⁹

¹⁷ van den Berghe, South Africa, p. 212.

¹⁸ "Cyclic Migration" simply means that the vast majority of the geographically mobile people return 'home' after some sojourn in another area.

¹⁹ Christopher, S. G., "Note on Research Relevant to the Extended Family and Geographic Mobility," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 6, (March, 1965), pp. 183-184.

Urban settlement. Industrialization in the Witwatersrand resulted in the creation of African townships by various municipalities. These townships come to be characterized by overcrowding, poor housing, high mobility rates, high crime rates and poverty. Their style of life was markedly transitional. That is, rural patterns of living existed side by side with modern urban ones. They later became centres of resistance to Apartheid in the liberation movement, and of the development of a "township" sub-culture with patterns of conspicuous consumption.

Occupational differentiation. In traditional society all manual labour was done by women and children. Men took the more responsible functions of counselling in public gatherings and fighting in the army. In Johannesburg, on the otherhand, men played the superior role of head of the household as well as bread winner of the family by means of his daily work, which was for the most part manual and less prestigious than his traditional one. His work situation was now bureaucratic and impersonal. The basis of prestige and status were thus slowly shifted from family position to type of occupation.

Race Relations. Rather than improve race relations, industrialization in South Africa complicated them. This probably resulted from the fact that industrialization was imported into the country and imposed on the social structure. The monopolization of the means of production by the Whites and the denial of equal employment opportunities

to the non-Whites did not improve race relations. Above all, the political system reacted adversely on industrialization by introducing reactionary change. It attempted to reverse certain of the social, political and cultural tendencies brought about by industrialization. (See Chapter 5). Small wonder then, that the growth of manufacturing industries has been followed by waves of political disturbances, protests, boycotts, strikes and militant encounters.

II. THE HISTORY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOWETO

Historical Background

The industrial boom of the early twenties in the Witwatersrand was followed by an acute shortage of housing for the non-White workers employed in the firms and factories around Johannesburg. Population growth outstripped the housing for Africans. By the outbreak of the Second World War, the city council had built about 8,830 houses for a population of 244,000, or approximately one house for every 40 persons. There was little change until 1950 when 15,825 houses were added to meet the increased population. By 1959 an additional 28,450 houses were erected, bringing the total to 44,273 houses and the proportion to one house for every 12 persons.²⁰ There was an average of 3 rooms per house; if we took into account the 2 and the 3 roomed sub-economic houses together with the 4 and the 5 roomed economic houses.

²⁰Carr, W. J. P., "Raising the Standard of South African Urban Natives," Optima, Vol. 9, (December, 1959), pp. 219-229.

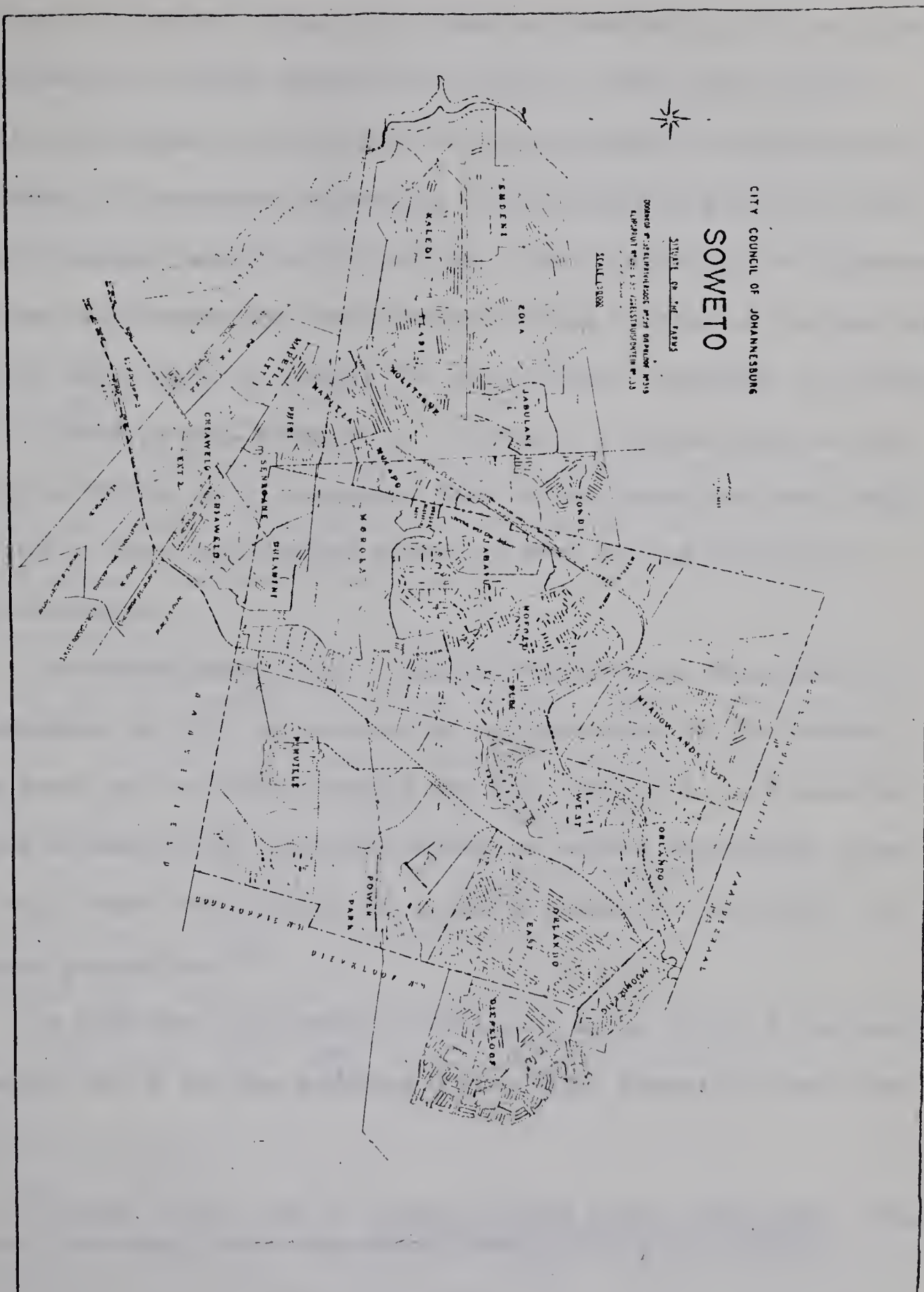


FIGURE 3

MAP OF SOWETO

The lag between population growth and housing for Johannesburg Africans was created largely by industrial conditions, such as, the recruitment of a large labour force from the rural areas without housing facilities; and the lack of city planning in Johannesburg at the height of industrial expansion. The colour-bar policies of the Union Government added to the problem. The City Council of Johannesburg had no jurisdiction over African housing because of the Land Act of 1913, which made it illegal for any European individual or organization to lease or sell property to Africans. Africans were not permitted to reside in the so-called White areas, which included large sections of the city close to places of work for the majority of African workers.

The establishment of the Non-European Affairs Department of Johannesburg in 1927 as a result of a provision of the "Native Urban Areas Act" of 1923, enabled the City Council to look into the housing situation and the establishment of modern residential areas that would take into account the probable growth of the city's non-European population.²¹

In 1930 the City Council purchased a large tract of farmland in Klipspruit No. 8 for the building of the first houses in what later

²¹Stark, Felix, (ed.), Seventy Golden Years, 1886-1956, Johannesburg, Municipal Public Relations Bureau, 1956, pp. 525-527.

became Orlando Township. (See Map). Both the property and the houses in this plot were owned by the Council. Africans were not allowed to buy either the plots they occupied or the houses they rented. In accordance with the spirit of the Urban Areas Act, the renting of houses in Orlando was restricted to Africans who were employed in Johannesburg, and had lived in the proclaimed area of Johannesburg for at least fifteen years.

The Setting

In 1965 Soweto (South Western Townships) covered an area of approximately twenty-six square miles, twelve miles from the industrial and commercial centres of Johannesburg. It was separated from the European suburbs by a buffer strip of gold mining land. Transport to and from the city centre was mainly by buses, trains and occasionally by taxis. The number of vehicles owned by Non-Whites was estimated at 19,500 in 1965, compared to 169,000 by Whites.²²

There was a serious problem of overcrowding in the trains during the peak hours, in spite of the number of the trains that were fed into the main lines. Cars would get jammed within seconds of their arrival at the station and every seat, standing room and overhead space would be taken.

²²The City Engineer and the Manager, "The Bantu Population and its Housing Requirements," Forward Planning, Interim Report No. 4. The Non-European Affairs Department, 1966.

Getting to or from Johannesburg by railroad is a nightmare if you are black. Trains are too few, too full, too slow. Some African commuters must leave home as early as 5:00 a.m. to be sure of reaching their city jobs by 7:30 p.m. Some are unable to catch a train back to their black township before 7 at night. These people may never see their homes in daylight, except on holidays. Twice each day, at the morning and evening rush hours, the segregated station platforms are a bizarre sight. At one end, a few white travelers stand about, surrounded by space. At the other, a dense mass of Africans is segregated, crowded and compressed.²³

In addition to the problems described above, there was also that of identifying the right train. The stations were usually congested with hundreds of passenger trains heading for different destinations. To board the right train one had to have familiarity with the platforms and the direction signals. This meant ability to determine whether the 9402 was heading for Johannesburg Park Station or for West Gate; whether the 9683 was a non-stop express to Faraday or merely an "all-station" to Booysens. In most cases this resulted in confusion and panic rushes when passengers found that their train was entering a different platform. Trains normally stopped for three minutes before the whistle blew for departure. As a result innumerable accidents occurred at these stations during peak hours, in some cases involving train crashes.

Railway tracks in Johannesburg formed functional boundaries for different districts. A train journey from Johannesburg's Park Station to Soweto took one through a cross section of the city --

²³ Cole, Ernest, House of Bondage, New York: A Ridge Press Book, Random House, 1967, p. 60.

from the bustling downtown area, through poor White districts and mine dumps, to the urban "Bantustan" of Soweto. There were two main lines entering Soweto, and three entering the city centre. They were joined at the main junction called New Canada, with fifteen platforms. The Park Station line was characterized by white-collar and professional workers('oo scuse me', as they were derogatively called); and by commercial and service workers who handled deliveries, technical work and general dispatch. These were workers employed in the city centre or in nearby suburbs. The atmosphere in the trains travelling on this line in the mornings was often impersonal and indifferent. Sometimes cliques developed among passengers who tended to meet in the same cars and were employed in the same establishment. The reading of newspapers and paperbacks was a feature of the first-class coaches, which had two to three cars at the back of a ten-to fifteen-car passenger train.

The alternative lines to the above were the Booyens-Westgate-Faraday lines. They were situated in the heavily industrialized section of Southeast Johannesburg, in areas of steel, engineering, metallurgical and chemical industries and motor mechanics. Workers using these lines tended to be male unskilled employees. In the trains they created an atmosphere of informal relationships, with a few unsolicited preachers, speakers or "entertainers ." Witnesses of Jehova were the keener individuals in the morning train "sermons ."

PLATE 1: DOWNTOWN JOHANNESBURG



PLATE 2: RIGHT TRAIN WRONG PLATFORM

Left: With no room inside train, some ride between cars. Which black train to take is matter of guesswork. They have no destination signs and no announcement of arrivals is made. Head car may be numbered to show its route, but number is often wrong. In confusion, passengers sometimes jump across track (right), and some are killed by express trains. Below: Whistle has sounded, train is moving, but people are still trying to get on.



PLATE 3: A MORNING RUSH TO WORK

PLATE 4: AN AFRICAN TOWNSHIP (ORLANDO WEST EXTENSION) IN SOWETO



In the homeward direction, the Park Station passengers usually travelled to the northwest section of Soweto in the predominantly white-collar, middle class districts of Phefeni, Dube and Mofolo. (See Map.) The Booyens-Westgate-Faraday trains rarely stopped at these stations. In the rush hours there were many express trains travelling non-stop to Merafe, completely by-passing the "middle-class" districts. Most trains entering the southwestern districts of Soweto stopped at the three main stations here. There was little "class" distinction among residents of these districts. (We shall refer to this area as the Orlando Section).

A small stream heavily vegetated with water plants and reeds, separated the Northern part (Dube Section) from the Orlando Section. In the latter area homes were older, red-bricked and built in a variety of designs. None was built on the suburban model, except a few privately built homes of ministers of Protestant religions, some businessmen and a few professionals. The main road leading in to the township was paved with old gum trees and what was formerly a well-laid pavement. Community centres, the police station, the clinic, the swimming pool and the Orlando stadium were situated in a narrow strip between the main road and the railway tracks. Unlike the Dube section, the Orlando section of Soweto was bustling with activity, teeming with children and cars in its un-tarred dusty streets. Its thirty years of existence was beginning to show.

The Dube Section of Soweto was larger. It was barely fifteen

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO LOCATION
AND ETHNIC AFFILIATION: SOWETO, 1967

| Area | Ethnic Group | Population |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Central West Jabavu | Nguni-Sotho | 10,242 |
| Chiawela) | | |
| Chiawela Ext. 1) | Shangaan-Venda | 23,126 |
| Chiawela Ext. 11) | | |
| Dhlamini | Nguni | 10,641 |
| Dube | Mixed | 12,948 |
| Emdeni | Nguni | 12,115 |
| Jabavu | Nguni-Sotho | 26,482 |
| Jabulani | Nguni | 12,052 |
| Klipspruit | Mixed | 4,459 |
| Mapetla | Sotho | 14,079 |
| Mofolo South) | | |
| Mofolo Central) | Nguni-Sotho | 30,387 |
| Mofolo North) | | |
| Molapo | Sotho | 7,832 |
| Moletsane) | | |
| Moletsane North) | Sotho | 10,107 |
| Moroka | Nguni-Sotho | 17,463 |
| Naledi | Sotho | 20,523 |
| Orlando East 1) | | |
| Orlando East 11) | | |
| Orlando West 1) | Nguni-Sotho | 60,010 |
| Orlando West 11) | | |
| Orlando West Ext.) | | |
| Phiri | Sotho | 11,239 |
| Pimville | Mixed | 18,045 |
| Senoane | Sotho | 10,595 |
| Tladi | Sotho | 10,190 |
| Zola | Zulu | 32,191 |
| Zondi | Nguni | 9,728 |
| TOTAL | | <u>370,508</u> |

"Bantu" Resettlement Board Townships and Population

| | | |
|----------------------|---|----------------|
| Meadowlands Township | Different Ethnic Groups in each of the 10 zones | 60,400 |
| Diepkloof Township | Different Ethnic Groups in each of the 10 zones | <u>66,054</u> |
| | Total | <u>126,454</u> |
| | TOTAL | <u>496,962</u> |

Sources: Compiled from data found in "Churches in Soweto, June 1967." Information Sheet Number 25, RR. 18/68.

years in existence and all the houses were newer. Many townships in the far northwest were being extended. As a result the Dube section residents were highly mobile and new people gradually moved in. Inter-household relations tended to be distant and non-committal, as newer residents entered their neighbourhood. Many newcomers came from the Orlando section, in search of bigger homes; and from older townships in the Western area and the outskirts of Johannesburg (such as Alexandra Township).

Dube, Mofolo and Rockville were dominated by privately built, relatively large suburban homes with electricity, running water and garages (see Plate 6). Houses were owned by such professional groups as doctors, lawyers, school inspectors, lecturers and senior Government employees. There were also businessmen and ministers of religion. People in these districts were considered arrogant by the rest of Soweto. They were strongly Western and American oriented in their style of life, and very much concerned with "keeping up with the Joneses ."

Each neighborhood was built around a small grocery centre, which was large enough to accommodate one general dealer, one butchery, one dairy store, one cafe and one chemist. No other stores could be built outside the small site set by the Government. The grocery centre formed the main centre of activity after school hours and in the evening. Business was often good for most of the local stores. Other centres of activity for the male adults of each

PLATE 5: A LOW INCOME GROUP DISTRICT



PLATE 6: MODERN HOME OF AN AFRICAN BUSINESSMAN

PLATE 7: AN ECONOMIC HOME IN ORLANDO TOWNSHIP



PLATE 8: A BUSY GROCERY STORE

township were the beerhalls, near the stations and the much neglected community centres.

Finally, the types of houses built in Soweto during the period under consideration fell into three categories: (a) sub-economic houses; (b) economic houses, and (c) self-built houses. Rents were normally assessed in accordance with the income of the head of the household. They ranged from R1.73 to R10.50 and the average rental was R5.00. Sub-economic houses accommodated families with an income of R40.00 per month or less, and their rent was assessed at R1.73 per month for a two-roomed house and R2.25 per month for a three-roomed house. Economic houses accommodated all other families, with the exception of those who were living in council-built houses which they bought, or in homes which they built for themselves. The last group was obliged to pay monthly site rents of R3.50.²⁴

Population Trends in Soweto

Soweto, during the period of our observation, was a less densely populated area than both the older shanty-towns and slum districts of Alexandra Township in the northeast outskirts of Johannesburg, and the former Western Native Township. (See Map 3). Unlike the former slum areas, Soweto was divided into various ethnic districts in accordance with Government policy which "felt that this

²⁴Verster, Joan, "The Trend and Pattern of Fertility in Soweto: an Urban Bantu Community," African Studies, Vol. 24, Nos. 3 & 4, 1965, pp. 131-198.

method of aggregating the tribes would make for more harmonious living among the Bantu."²⁵

There were several factors that indicated a high rate of migration into Soweto during the period of observation. These were the sudden increases in the rate of employment in Johannesburg, stricter legislation to control the influx of the so-called "Foreign Natives," and periodic early morning raids for lodgers without valid permits to stay in the townships. There was a steady influx of Africans from neighbouring Reef towns, as a result of transfers, marriage, and job offers in Johannesburg. Since 1956 the Government has made concerted efforts to clamp down on all types of influx into the urban areas of Johannesburg.

An interim report of the Non-European Affairs Department of 1966 estimated the number of new labour entrants coming from Johannesburg at 3,090 (17,87 per cent) and more than 82.13 per cent or 14,204 as coming from elsewhere.²⁶

Possession of a valid Reference Book (Pass Book) for all African adults over the age of sixteen, and employment in the so-called "proclaimed" area of Johannesburg was a pre-requisite for settlement in Soweto. Permission to live in Soweto was valid so

²⁵Ibid., p. 137.

²⁶Interim Report No. 4, op. cit.

long as the individual was working under the same employer.

At the beginning of our observation (1956) Soweto had a population of about 191,250 living in 26,134 permanent houses under family conditions,²⁷ or about 7.3 persons per three-roomed house. In 1963 the corresponding figure was 347,397 persons living in a total of 57,666 houses in twenty-one townships of Soweto,²⁸ or 6.0 persons per house. By the end of 1966 the Soweto complex covered an area of 26 square miles with thirty-two townships having a total population of 505,950 persons renting 63,868 homes or 7.9 persons per three-roomed house. (See Table IV.) Since houses had on the average three small rooms, the ratio of persons per room was two persons, during the period under consideration. This showed a distinct worsening of persons per house ratio, and much short term fluctuation.²⁹

Approximately 84 per cent of Soweto's population was under the age of 40, according to a 1963 survey. Of this cohort 54 per cent were children under 19. (See Table VI.) In the author's observation the recent establishment of Soweto from a predominantly rural population, whose traditional outlook was oriented towards

²⁷ Stark, Felix, op. cit., pp. 525 and 527.

²⁸ Verster, op. cit., pp. 135-136.

²⁹ Hellmann, Ellen, Soweto-Johannesburg's African City, Durban: Institute of Race Relations, 1967.

TABLE IV
SUMMARY OF PERSONS PER HOUSE RATIO IN SOWETO
(1956 - 1966)

| Year | Houses | Persons | Persons Per House |
|------|--------|---------|----------------------|
| 1956 | 26,134 | 191,250 | 7.3 |
| 1963 | 57,666 | 347,397 | 6.0 |
| 1966 | 63,868 | 505,950 | 7.9 |

Compiled from data found in Felix Stark, Verster, and Hellmann referred to in text.

TABLE V

POPULATION AND HOUSING IN SOWETO (1956)

| Township | Number of Houses | Population (Estimate) | Persons per House |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Orlando Township | 10,311) | 96,000 | 6.7 |
| Orlando (Temporary Single- room Shelters) | 4,045) | | |
| Western Native Township | 2,250 | 20,000 | 8.8 |
| Eastern Native Township | 617 | 5,000 | 8.1 |
| Pimville | | | |
| - Owned by tenants | 1,095) | 26,500 | 12.0 |
| - Owned by Council | 151) | | |
| Jabavu | 5,100 | 30,000 | 6.0 |
| Dube | 1,115 | 5,750 | 5.1 |
| Mofolo | 1,450 | 8,000 | 5.5 |
| TOTAL | 26,134 | 191,250 | 7.3 |

Sources: Stark, Felix, op. cit., pp. 525-527.

the settlement of older folks in the homelands and encouragement of adventure for youth, could be among the factors that contributed to Soweto's young population.

According to Verster's³⁰ study of Soweto, the sex ratio was found to be 94 men to 100 women, which the author suspects to be due to the uncontrolled influx of women into the urban areas of Johannesburg, at a time when the influx of men was severely controlled. Perhaps a more thorough check of the number of unregistered and unaccounted for individuals in Soweto would result in more reliable findings. The Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Department made reference to such discrepancies concerning the official census statistics and the unofficial ones.³¹

Finally, it seems Soweto's growth had not been adversely affected by the Government's influx control measures, nor had it kept pace with the housing projects. "In spite of a rapid rate of building the waiting list remains an extremely long one, due to the natural increase of the population."³²

³⁰Verster, op. cit.

³¹Carr, op. cit. He found that the African population in 1946 had grown to 395,231 in the Department's estimates, and 400,847 according to the unofficial estimate of the Labour Bureau. "One explanation for this discrepancy is the rooted objection of many urban Natives to being 'counted', because of a fear that persons found to be in excess . . . would be sent back to the reserves . . ." p. 222.

³²A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, South African Institute of Race Relations, (January, 1967), p. 194.

TABLE VI
AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION (SOWETO 1963)

| Age Group | Males | % | Females | % | Number | TOTAL |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| 0-9 | 56,175 | 31.9 | 57,779 | 30.9 | 113,954 | 31.39 |
| 10-19 | 42,791 | 24.3 | 42,073 | 22.5 | 84,864 | 23.37 |
| 20-29 | 22,365 | 12.7 | 31,040 | 16.6 | 53,405 | 14.71 |
| 30-39 | 19,899 | 11.3 | 25,056 | 13.4 | 44,955 | 12.38 |
| 40-49 | 18,666 | 10.6 | 16,082 | 8.6 | 34,748 | 9.57 |
| 50-59 | 10,742 | 6.1 | 7,293 | 3.9 | 18,035 | 4.97 |
| 60+ | 5,459 | 3.1 | 7,667 | 4.1 | 13,126 | 3.61 |
| | <u>176,097</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>186,990</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>363,087</u> | <u>100.00</u> |
| | 48.5% | | 51.5% | | 100.0% | |

Sources: Information Sheet Number 13, RR/66/67. Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.

Yet we must warn the reader of possible (ideal, public) built-in uncertainties, attending all population and housing figures, because of unregistered occupants.

Cost of Living: "The Poverty of the Urban Africans"

"Cost of living" in this section is used loosely to indicate the income level, family expenditure and standard of living of the Africans in Soweto. It is compared with the cost of living of the White population in South Africa using Batson's "poverty datum line" as a measure.³³

Income: "What they earn." African population increases in Soweto and Johannesburg affected the rate of employment in the factories and commercial services. A larger segment of this population was for the most part unskilled. Wages paid to African workers in these concerns were far below the bread line. They constituted 60 to 75 per cent of the Poverty Datum Line estimates during the period under investigation (the rates are discussed below under "expenditure .")

African cash wages in Johannesburg industries (excluding mining), constituted about 20 per cent of those of White workers employed in the same industry in 1959-1960 prices. This discrepancy remained even for workers doing practically the same type of work.

³³The "poverty datum line" is an estimate of the income needed to attain a certain basic minimum level of health and decency. It allows for the indispensable minimum quantities of food, clothing, fuel, lighting, cleaning, housing and transport to and from work. "A Re-Calculation of the Poverty Datum Line," Revised edition of Report SS (February, 1942), School of Social Science, University of Capetown.

Top-paid Africans earned less than the lowest paid White worker. Table VII traces this discrepancy for the six-year period beginning in 1956. Differences between African and White wages, however, decreased slightly. While White wages (in constant dollars) rose from R1.774 per annum to R1.907 per annum, those of the Africans grew from 328 to 365. In other words, White wages in constant dollars rose by 7.5 per cent, African wages increased by 11.3 per cent.

Wage discrepancy between Africans and Whites in the same level of occupation, was partly due to Government Policy, which treated African labour as temporary and kept African wages below those of the Whites, and partly to the denial of bargaining rights from African workers.

In a conference sponsored by the National Development Foundation in July 1960, Samuels, a senior lecturer in Economics at the University of the Witwatersrand noted that the discrepancy between the two races had increased by 351 per cent for Africans since 1958 as against 381 per cent for Whites in the same period. When the rise in prices was considered, the discrepancy was found to be greater, since food, which formed the single most important item in the African worker's budget, had become so much more expensive. Allowing for this factor, the increase in real wages was about 72 per cent for the Whites and only 46 per cent for Africans.³⁴ In a relative sense, the

³⁴ A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1959-1960, p. 191.

TABLE VII

AVERAGE ANNUAL CASH EARNINGS IN INDUSTRY:
SOUTH AFRICA, 1955-1961
(Private Manufacturing and Construction)

| | Average Annual Cash Earnings At Current Prices | | Average Annual Earnings at 1959-60 Prices | |
|---------|---|----------|--|----------|
| | Whites | Africans | Whites | Africans |
| 1955-56 | R1,621 | 306 | 1,774 | 328 |
| 1956-57 | 1,692 | 308 | 1,817 | 331 |
| 1957-58 | 1,761 | 316 | 1,817 | 326 |
| 1958-59 | 1,819 | 330 | 1,832 | 333 |
| 1959-60 | 1,872 | 348 | 1,872 | 348 |
| 1960-61 | 1,938 | 371 | 1,907 | 365 |

Sources: Compiled from data found in W. F. J. Steenkamp, "The Bantu Wage Problem," South African Journal of Economics (June, 1962), p. 96.

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY OCCUPATION OF
HOUSEHOLD HEAD AND NUMBER OF EARNERS
PER HOUSEHOLD: SOWETO (1962)
N = 1409 Households

| Occupation of Head of Household | % of Households | Average No. of Earners | Average Income |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| Professional | 1.8 | 1.72 | 92.35 |
| Proprietor or Managerial | 4.8 | 1.83 | 74.56 |
| Skilled Labour | 1.1 | 1.69 | 87.40 |
| Semi-Skilled Labour | 22.2 | 1.63 | 70.21 |
| Unskilled Labour | 56.8 | 1.76 | 52.58 |
| Administrative & Clerical | 3.9 | 1.85 | 82.44 |
| Pensioner | 1.9 | 2.07 | 36.79 |
| Housewife | 2.5 | 1.60 | 44.10 |
| Unemployed | 3.4 | 1.38 | 39.06 |
| Unemployable | 1.6 | 1.83 | 50.53 |
| All Occupations | 100.0 | 1.73 | 58.79 |

Source: Bureau of Market Research, Research Report No. 6, University of South Africa, 1962.

poor got poorer.

A general survey by the Non-European Affairs Department in 1956 found an average monthly income of R32 for an African family in Soweto.³⁵ In October, 1958, Harry Goldberg, Chairman of the African Wage and Productivity Association, reported an average income of R34 per month for an African family in Johannesburg, a slight increase over the 1956 figures in Soweto.³⁶ Significant changes in the income of African families in Soweto were revealed in the 1962 findings of the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa (see Table VIII) which showed an average monthly household income of R58.79, and an increase of approximately 1.73 wage earners as against 1.33 for 1958. The total cash income of all households in Soweto was estimated at R47,880,000, household heads contributed 67 per cent of this income (an average of R42 per month), wives contributed 11 per cent and other earners contributed a further 21 per cent.³⁷

The findings of the Bureau of Market Research seem to imply that the rise in family income was due to the increase of 30 per cent in the average number of workers per family, and an approximately equal increase of about 30 per cent in average wage for both sexes, (from R26 to R34 per month). The head of the household was the sole

³⁵ Ibid., p. 168

³⁶ Quoted in Survey, 1964, pp. 207-208.

³⁷ Bureau of Market Research, "Income and Expenditure Patterns of Urban Bantu Households (South-Western Townships) Johannesburg," Research Report No. 6, University of South Africa, 1962.

breadwinner in nearly half of the households (Table VIII).

According to the poverty datum line of R46 in 1963 it would appear that a large number of families continued to live in poverty, inspite of substantial progress in the years preceding.³⁸ Goldberg, on the otherhand, found that only 40 per cent of African wage earners in 1957 received more than R30 per month. The position improved steadily until 92 per cent earned more than the R30 limit in 1963. Inspite of these increases in the number of families crossing the "dire poverty line" of R30, more than 45 per cent of the households were still below the poverty datum line of R46 in 1964.³⁹

Starting cash wages in 1964 were highest in factories (average R31.24 per month), construction (R28.36), and janitor service (R28.05). They were lowest in Government Service (R19.28) and in the provincial service (R16.20). Weekly rates were higher than monthly rates, except in professional and technical positions. The difference was due to the slow increase in pay to African employees in the public service. Public service jobs were merely considered stepping stones to better industrial jobs, as employment here for non-Johannesburg Africans guaranteed entry into the "proclaimed" area of Johannesburg. It was

³⁸The number of African workers earning less than R30 per month decreased by about 15 percentage points in the period beginning July 1963 to June 1965 (from 31 per cent to 16 per cent), see Survey (January, 1966), p. 208.

³⁹Survey, (January, 1966), pp. 207-208.

a major channel for influx into urban areas.⁴⁰

Findings from the surveys reviewed above indicated a gradual rise in African wages since 1956. The proportion of weekly paid employees who received a cash income equivalent to less than R30 per month decreased 15 per cent. These gains fell far short of the cost of living, for both Blacks and Whites.

Expenditure: "Where and How They Spent Their Money." In Soweto, the average worker had little choice but to spend his money on essentials, such as food, rent and transport. With the exception of white collar workers, professional and technical employees, workers were paid on a weekly basis. "Pay day," which was Friday was the most important day of the week for every resident in Soweto. Heads of households were expected to hand over their pay cheques to their wives (more than 85 per cent of the households were monogamous and nuclear). Working sons and daughters also made it a practice to give their wages to their mothers. Rent was not normally expected from adolescent unmarried children staying with their families, except in the townships under the control of the Resettlement Board, in which every adolescent above the age of 17 was charged a rent of R1.70 as long as he/she lived at home with parents.

⁴⁰Survey, 1964, pp. 233-234.

Wives took up various jobs (such as washerwomen, hawkers, "shebeen" queens, and seamstresses) to supplement the meagre wages of their husbands. When things became unbearable husbands sent their wives and children back to the rural "homelands" as a resort to subsistence economy.

In 1957, a cost and management consultant employed by the City Council of Johannesburg, estimated the minimum expenditure of a Non-European family of five in Johannesburg at R35 per month. Income required to cover the barest essentials of subsistence was estimated at R42 a month.⁴¹ In a study of African incomes and essential expenditures two years later, Mrs. Joy de Gruchy estimated the minimum budget for a family of five at R48 per month, with a monthly shortfall of R9.32. In her comparison of this pattern of expenditure of African families in previous reports (1956 and 1957) and the expenditure patterns of 17 White families with incomes under R1,500 per annum, she found the following: White families on the average spent more on luxuries and non-essentials than the average African received in wages, and more on food than the average African family received in total income.⁴²

⁴¹Non-European Affairs Department, "Basic Cost of Living for Non-Europeans in Johannesburg," Johannesburg City Council, Research Section, 1957.

⁴²Gruchy de, Joy, "The Cost of Living for Urban Africans," South African Institute of Race Relations, 1960.

The average expenditure per household was estimated at R63 by the Bureau of Market Research in 1962, a 25 per cent increase over de Gruchy's findings in 1960. In 1964 Mrs. Draper of the Institute of Race Relations⁴³ estimated the minimum expenditure per household at R79 when the median family incomes were approximately R32 per month. In 1966 Mrs. Suttner⁴⁴ found an expenditure estimate of R100 per month for a family of six persons and a monthly wage of R46.31.

The surveys indicated a wide gap between income and cost of living in more than sixty percent of the households in Soweto, and a great discrepancy between expenditure patterns of the Africans and the Whites. The urban conditions offered by the industrial setting of Johannesburg made the subsistence standard of living (farming, raising cattle and dependence on crops) impracticable. There was no alternative to Western-American style of life. Western commercial goods and all items of consumption were all that were available in the city and in the townships of Soweto, and advertising played no small part in creating further needs.

The case of the family described below is an illustration of the type of life Africans normally lived in the townships. This does not mean that there were no affluent families, but it is necessary

⁴³Quoted in Survey, 1965, pp. 205-206.

⁴⁴Suttner, Sheila, "Cost of Living in Soweto," South African Institute of Race Relations, 1966.

to try to provide a balanced and representative picture of Soweto.

On one of these (township) streets live Daniel and Martha Mogale, a family whose plight is typical. I had known them for many years; they were good people, for whom tribal values still had meaning and whose strong ties to old ways helped hold their family together. Although Daniel and Martha had nine children and were desperately poor, they were still a family. How long they could remain so was a day-to-day proposition.

Daniel Mogale, the father, had worked ten years for the railways. He had started as a laborer, laying track, and had moved up to become cook and general helper to a team of white technicians who traveled the line, testing engines and other equipment. He earned \$42 net a month. That was less than enough to keep the family from starving, so Martha Mogale despite the fact that she had nine children at home, went out to work at various small jobs. Some days she would take her place in the rows of women who hawk fruit and peanuts on busy street corners. If she pushed and cajoled the passersby aggressively enough she might come home with a few hard coins. Or she might not

Every evening the Mogales played a desperate game of 'what shall we eat tonight'. Their staples were tea and a porridge made of corn meal. Vegetables were a luxury; usually they got by with pumpkin leaves, beet tops, and dandelion greens. Meat was served only on Sundays. Most Sundays, anyway. The first week after payday the eating might be pretty good. But as the month grew older the porridge grew thinner. While waiting for dinner, the kids one by one would fall asleep - just pass out where they sat. Each dozed off hoping to be waked up soon by the call to dinner. But sometimes their sleep lasted through the night without interruption.

Each month on payday Daniel Mogale conscientiously emptied his pay packet to meet as many outstanding accounts as he could. But he always managed to set aside a small portion of his wages for a monthly ritual of celebration. He used it to buy bakery bread as a treat for his family.

One evening when the money squeeze was worse than usual, Daniel told Martha, 'I think it would be much cheaper for you to take the kids and go to live with my mother in the tribal reserve. At least I can get things sorted out.' So grudgingly, the family broke up. Daniel and Henry stayed on in the house, living as bachelors. Daniel worked. Henry continued school. Martha



Low-paid Africans buy high-priced goods on time in white-owned stores like this one.

PLATE 10: VISITORS IN A BUSINESSMAN'S HOME



took the others and moved in with grand-mother in the reserve.⁴⁵

Standard of Living: "Consumption and Style of Life ." Soweto's style of life and conspicuous consumption was an attempt to create a world of "make belief ." In spite of their low wages and financial difficulties families were easily lured by advertisements and a desire to pretend to be better than they were. Pay-day came sooner, for many of them, than was the case with the Mogales in our illustration. Fridays in Soweto represented pay-days, the days of highest spending. It was not unusual for individuals to spend most of their R8 to R15 week's pay during the two-day weekend in the hope of borrowing from friends to meet the financial needs of the coming week.

Much money was spent on expensive deluxe furniture bought on hire-purchase terms in the downtown stores. More than 70 per cent of households in Soweto (from the author's estimate) owned modern appliances of one type or the other. Console radiograms, deluxe coal stoves, dining and living room furniture, and fashionable clothes, were among the items most preferred. Their cost was usually twice or thrice the monthly pay of the consumers. Many families as a result were in constant debt of sums varying from R100

⁴⁵ Cole, Ernest, House of Bondage, New York: A Ridge Press Book, Random House, 1967, pp. 87-88. This book written by a Black South African gives a pictorial description of urban African life in the South African Black townships. The publishers considered it "one of those rare books that can change the way we think by revealing a truth of which we were unaware ."

to R1,000.

According to V. R. Atkinson⁴⁶ urban Africans spent a total of R800,000,000 a year, or more than R2,000,000 a day in 1963. The National Development and Management Foundation estimated African purchasing power in 1965 at approximately 17.6 per cent of the consumption expenditure (about R1 billion). As a result industries and commercial concerns have not wasted time to avail themselves of the African market. Entrances to various townships were usually the spots for fancifully displayed billboards advertising various items from beer to complexion creams.⁴⁷

Advertisement through newspapers and the radio was among the factors responsible for conspicuous consumption. Above all, the desire for status and prestige was the chief motivation for display. The average individual in Soweto placed much importance on the type of decoration on the home, the quality of household furniture, the neighborhood, the style of dress, and the circle of friends; and very little importance on saving and economizing. Herein, he was simply responding to the exploitive nature of his environment.

III. SUMMARY

In this chapter industrialization was discussed with

⁴⁶ Atkinson, V. R., at the opening of the African Trade Fair at Kwa Mashu near Durban in 1963, cited in Survey, 1963, pp. 208-209.

⁴⁷ Quoted in the South African Digest, 17th June, 1965.

reference to the growth of manufacturing industries and mining; urban population growth and social recruitment; and the occupational structure of the African labour force. Growth of industries in South Africa was followed by an increased migration of African workers from rural farms to urban areas. They were initially recruited for the mines but were later absorbed into the urban industries as well. In Johannesburg a large section of migrants consisted of populations recruited directly from the rural areas to the industries. There was some absorption of African mine workers already employed in the mines. This direct recruitment by industries themselves was created by the need for low-paid African labour after the second World War. A sudden increase of the population followed; this created housing problems in Johannesburg. The Non-European Affairs Department made attempts at solving the housing shortage by embarking on large-scale building of economic and sub-economic houses. However, by 1966, Government houses and hostels had not coped successfully or adequately with the population already established in Johannesburg. While attempting to bridge the gap between population and housing, Johannesburg industrialists and the Government overlooked the more pressing problem of disparity between African wage income and the cost of living in Johannesburg.

The creation of Soweto in Johannesburg was partly the result of the steady growth of African workers in the secondary and tertiary

industries; and partly the result of the City Council's implementation of a separate housing Apartheid policy. During the period of our observation Soweto had grown into a modern metropolitan community in many respects; in occupational specialization and economic differentiation; in the predominance of nuclear type family and household; in its ecological differentiation (for example, the higher-income districts of Dube, Mofolo and Rockville); and in the Western and American tones of its style of life. However, it is also a community upon which the apartheid conditions of the South African government have had a truncating effect, particularly in the development of a power structure such as we find in North American metropolitan areas. In other words, the upper economic, political echelons of the social hierarchy were missing in Soweto, because they were reserved for Whites.

We now turn to a more detailed discussion of the political and prestige patterns to be found in Soweto.

CHAPTER V

THE STATUS STRUCTURE AND THE COMMUNITY

INFLUENTIALS IN SOWETO

I. BASES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class formation among Africans cannot be analysed simply as an attribute or correlate of the occupational differences between them. It must be related to the overall structure of South African society and to the transition of Africans from a tribal system to a system of racial domination.¹

Social ranking in South Africa since 1948 has become more of a political issue than a purely economic one. This was as a result of the victory of the Nationalist Party in the 1948 election, a party that represented extreme racist interests in South Africa. From the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Party a caste system of stratification was developed which was based on an indelible racial status. In this system Whites occupied the upper echelons of power and control, while the Cape Coloureds and the Indians were placed in a position a little higher than that of the majority of Black Africans and a little lower than that of the White minority groups. To an increasing extent the type of work a man might perform was determined by his race rather than by his productive capacity. An industrial caste system was in the process of evolution.²

¹Kuper, Leo, op. cit., p. X1.

²Hobart, Houghton D., The South African Economy, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 147-149.

The evolution of the industrial caste-system in South Africa based on race is closely linked with historical and political factors. The economic factors are closely linked to, and reinforced by the political ones. (See Chapter IV). As the group that brought the Capitalistic system into South Africa, the White settlers were in a vantage position to control the means of production. The position of the Africans remained that of a proletariat selling its labour to White industries. They were needed in the labour market as cheap labour rather than as business partners. It was not the intention of the colonialists to seek the advancement of the Africans in the colonies. Colonial policy was often oriented to the benefit of the 'Mother Country .' In South Africa the presence of a large number of preliterate and non-industrial Africans who held the land was considered an obstacle to the economic advancement of the Settlers. Shepstone's policy in Natal (in the 19th Century) illustrates this attitude. Shepstone believed that the Africans held too much land, which was an encouragement to idleness, and that they held it in too large areas, which made them a military menace. Consequently it was necessary that a policy be followed which aimed at the reduction of the amount of land held by the Africans, and at the introduction of taxation calculated to force them more freely into the labour market.³

The industrial and social caste-system in South Africa resulted

³ de Kiewiet, C. W., The Imperial Factor in South Africa, London: Cambridge, 1937, p. 31.

in oppressive measures been taken against the Blacks with the aim of protecting the White workers and as a means of destroying any chance of the Blacks becoming a military or an 'economic' menace. Consequently the cities, the industries, the commerce, the developed areas, and four fifths of the land was allocated to the Whites, while the rural, under-developed, and peri-urban areas were left to the non-Whites. This meant a modern, Western, wealthy democracy for the Afrikaners and the English, a mixture of tribal revivalism and low-level modernization for the subordinate Africans.⁴ In this way the Whites insured against the emergence of an African bourgeoisie which would have private ownership of the means of production. They refused to accept the emergence of class differentiation of the kind existing in Western Society. They saw in the African in South Africa a perennial supply of cheap labour and regarded any closer identification of the African with Western values as a threat to White supremacy.⁵

Shared inequality, low status and the low ceiling on achievement, measured objectively, do not necessarily eliminate an awareness of social distinctions within a sub-group. The distinctions may be very fine, since the range of differentiation is narrow, but they may act with all the greater force to stimulate mutual disdain.⁶

⁴Kuper, op. cit., p. 33.

⁵Nimrod, Mkele, op. cit., p. 218.

⁶Kuper, op. cit., p. 93.

Soweto in particular showed most of the characteristics of an oppressed sub-group that Kuper mentioned in his study of the Black middle class in South Africa. There was an exceptionally keen awareness of occupational differences in Soweto. We observed that a Soweto resident made clear distinctions between his white-collar neighbour and his professional one. He could easily tell the difference between a working-class factory employee and a local trader. He was aware of the cues that differentiated various people in his community. By the type of dress, the house owned, the furniture, the accent, and the manner of walking -- an individual was classified and differentiated from other individuals. Similar tendencies among American Blacks were reported by E. F. Frazier in his study, The Black Bourgeoisie.

Status consciousness was not an entirely new phenomenon among the Africans in South Africa. It existed in similar force (but in very different forms) under pre-colonial traditional conditions. It was manifested by a desire for promotion to the higher-status positions of headman, chief, army captain or royal counsellor. The capitalist economy of the settlers merely introduced new forms of status systems. It did not originate status consciousness among the Africans.

II. OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS

In his thematic apperceptive tests of Africans in Johannesburg, de Ridder found that "ambition in terms of social advance and an increase in personal status and wealth are constantly recurring themes . . . the

urban African is extremely money conscious - a consciousness, however, which is characterized by greed fantasies and selfish desires" ⁷

If De Ridder applied a similar test to pre-Colonial South Africans he could have found the same concern with wealth and status except that in place of money consciousness perhaps cattle consciousness.

The development of occupational differentiation and class consciousness among the urban Africans in Johannesburg was the last stage of a process that began with the arrival of the White man in South Africa in 1652. It was a process that was oriented towards Westernization of the African and the destruction of his traditional kinship and status system.

The missionaries, the schools, industrialization and the apartheid policy hastened the Westernization of the African in South Africa and created new lines of cleavage, at the same time disintegrating the traditional structure of Nguni-Sotho society.

The missionaries and the schools precipitated the Westernization process among the Africans. It was only after the arrival of the missionaries in 1819 that the White settler began to make a significant move to change traditional African society. Before this time the African was a menace to be avoided, or driven out of his land, or a vagrant to be forcefully recruited for farm work, or a foolish cattle owner to be

⁷ De Ridder, J. C., The Personality of the Urban African in South Africa: A Thematic Apperceptive Test Study, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961, pp. 86-87, 91.

deprived of them whenever the frontier farmers made their periodic plunders of African villages.

Many of the modifications in Bantu living which the missionary favoured encouraged the gradual transformation of the Bantu population into a reservoir of labour for the growing European economy; while rudimentary education, European crafts, and Christian (or Protestant) individualism, which the missionary taught, contributed to the same end. For this reason, and because of their pacifying influence upon tribes antagonistic to the Europeans, the missionaries enjoyed the support of colonists urgently in need of an amenable labour force. It was widely believed in the early years of the 19th century that only among those Africans who were under missionary influence was there to be found a strong desire to adopt western habits; and colonists who, for other reasons, were not friendly to the missions, freely admitted that personal safety during an armed raid by Bantu tribesmen could be obtained only in refuge at a mission station.⁸

By the end of the nineteenth century the colonist was guaranteed a steady labour force from among the Africans, many of whom at this time had come well under the influence of the missionaries and the schools (or mission institutions). The discovery of diamonds and gold during this period introduced another dimension in the Westernization process of the Africans in South Africa, that is, the process of industrialization. African labour was needed more than ever before, in the mines and in the newly developing industries, and large numbers of rural migrant workers were recruited from their home districts. After the completion of the labour contracts with the mines, many of the migrant workers often remained in the urban areas of Johannesburg and took up employment as unskilled workers in the factories and industries. And this marked the

⁸ Hutchinson, Bertram, "Some Social Consequences of Nineteenth Century Missionary Activity Among the South African Bantu," Africa, Vol. 27, No. 2, p. 160.

beginning of the process of economic differentiation in the urban townships which became the characteristic feature of urban African life; hence his concern with money, education and selfish desires (or survival) as de Ridder found in his study.

Industrialization, and in particular discrimination in job opportunity and unequal pay, sensitized the Africans in Johannesburg to economic and occupational differences. The racial caste system in places of work was a constant reminder to Africans of the jobs that were denied them in White society and it was also an incentive to such positions. Consequently a strong awareness of occupational differences and occupational groups developed among the so called "undifferentiated masses" of Africans in Johannesburg, particularly those living in the new and better housing districts of Soweto.

The Unskilled and the Semi-Skilled Workers

Since the establishment of manufacturing industries in Johannesburg in the twenties a large African labour force was created. (See Chapter IV). It was largely unskilled, although an increasing number were entering semi-skilled and skilled positions. More would have entered skilled positions if the apartheid policies of South African governments did not place restrictions on promotions to such positions.⁹

⁹The Apprenticeship Act, No. 26 of 1926, and its amending Act, No. 37 of 1944, laid down conditions for apprenticeship which made it difficult for Africans to qualify as skilled workers. In addition the Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 28 of 1956 gave the Minister of Labour power to reserve certain jobs for Whites only.

For the purposes of this study unskilled workers will include those workers employed in positions requiring little or no technical experience or training.¹⁰ Unskilled workers were employed in manufacturing industries (described in Chapter IV) in domestic service, and by the City Council of Johannesburg as janitors, garbage collectors, and street cleaners. 'Semi-skilled' in this context will apply to all those African workers in Johannesburg who acquired skill in the use of technical equipment in firms and factories through practice and experience rather than through formal vocational training. In Johannesburg these were the workers who were wise enough to watch closely as their "White Boss" operated the machines, and in time were relegated parts of this job under the supervision of their White bosses.

In this category we shall also include truck drivers, company drivers and foremen. They were the better paid workers and they tended to identify with one another occupationally.

In the three firms I participated as an unskilled worker I observed that workers distinguished among themselves along occupational rather than ethnic or social lines. What was important here was how long you worked for the firm, what position or type of job you were doing, and who your friends were in the firm.

¹⁰ This classification is arbitrary and is based on the author's personal acquaintance with the manual workers in Johannesburg at the Plastex Company, a tyre company and a large warehouse, between 1956 and 1963, and in the case of white-collar workers, association with them at cultural clubs, theatres and their places of work, during the period 1964 and 1966 at which time I worked as a clerk, typist, proof reader and Assistant Head of an administrative department in Swaziland.

In what I shall call Company A, where I was temporarily employed in 1956 as an unskilled worker, newly employed workers were engaged in trimming newly treaded tyres or putting a layer of black paint on them. This was a routine job that required no technical skill. Further down the assembly line were older and semi-skilled workers who operated the vulcanizing machines and various other equipment for treading tyres. These workers were under the supervision of a German skilled worker, whose duty was to oversee the African workers, and perhaps provide some assistance when help was needed. At the end of the assembly line (which should, as a matter of fact, be the beginning, from the production point-of-view) was a group of experienced workers whose duty was to check all treaded and vulcanized tyres for any mistakes, and to arrange the packaging and dispatch of orders. In this way they were in constant touch with the truck drivers and the dispatch clerk, and could order around the new inexperienced workers as they thought fit.

The location of the Company in the industrial sector of the city facilitated association with many workers from neighbouring firms and factories during lunch breaks and on the way home after work. The newly employed workers were recruited from high school drop-outs and immigrant youths from the rural areas. In the trains they occupied the first two cars of the third-class coaches at the front, there were usually from between eleven to sixteen cars in each train, while the older workers sat close to the second-class compartments at the back, usually the last three third-class coaches, mainly to keep away from the former group.

Prestige among the young workers was shown in boarding the train while it was moving, or by hanging on the doors and windows of a fast-moving train. Commuting was done by means of trains which were always packed to bursting point during peak hours.

The main leisure activity for the workers during the week was frequenting the beer-halls. Depending on one's clique, one would normally stop at a particular local beer-hall for a drink or two of African beer (brewed from malt and bread and fermented with baker's yeast). Beer-halls formed a kind of social club for the workers, in which various cliques took informal spots in the hall as their daily meeting places after working hours.

During working hours personal relationships among the workers were often informal and cordial without at the same time being intimate and equalitarian. While older and more senior workers showed signs of friendship they never allowed junior employees to forget their place. Playing around and swearing was the usual game among the older workers whenever the White foreman was not in sight. At the same time, engaging in unlawful deals with outsiders and customers was a mark of prestige among the dispatch clerks and the drivers. These workers made more money out of these deals than they did from their regular jobs. These deals involved selling tyres to other companies illegally or selling them to private individuals. Among African workers in Johannesburg embezzling funds and goods was one way of beating the oppressive system. When caught they were usually expelled from their jobs. It was rare that

criminal charges were laid against them.

Ethnic prejudice was very minimal among workers in this Company since they did not identify with their ethnic group as much as they did with their occupational group. Many were married to women of different African ethnic groups than their own, and it was fairly difficult, except in a few cases, to tell what ethnic group a person belonged to, since most Africans in Johannesburg spoke both Zulu and Sotho fluently in addition to English and Afrikaans. This does not imply that there was no awareness of ethnicity among African workers in Johannesburg. Every worker was aware of his ethnic origins and was in most cases proud of them. Many had relations and sometimes dependents in rural areas (the so-called 'Homelands') whom they visited periodically at Easter and Christmas, and for whom they were financially responsible.

Company B, in which I was temporarily employed as an unskilled labourer in 1963, was a warehouse of a large department store with chain branches throughout the country. The warehouse was the focal point of supply for all the branches in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Organization here was different from that of Company A, since this was not a manufacturing company. However, it was still arranged on an assembly line basis. There were more than four hundred African workers working side by side with two to three hundred White workers, mostly women. The warehouse was divided into clothing and food departments. Workers on the lowest rung of the company hierarchy (that is, African workers) placed various goods on shelves, counted and passed on the

lists to a White supervisor for recording; they also sorted out newly arrived goods and packed all orders into cartons for dispatch. Senior and more experienced African workers, on the otherhand, checked cartons, labelled them and dispatched them for delivery. They were also engaged at supervising the elevator for the goods and in checking outgoing orders and incoming deliveries. They were therefore in constant touch with the truck drivers, and the departmental foremen. They were under less supervision than the junior workers. At the top of the African warehouse hierarchy was the chief foreman, a sixty-five-year-old African worker who had been with the company since 1930. Under him were no less than ten departmental foremen and messenger boys. He acted as the chief public relations officer for the African workers.

Sitting arrangements at the warehouse canteen were structured along the various hierarchical categories and along departmental lines. Most workers came into contact with workers from their own departments, who in most cases were the only individuals they knew in the warehouse. Older married workers sat around the coffee counter near the letter pigeon-hole. They were usually the first to arrive at the canteen and had the privilege of choosing the best places for themselves. Newly arrived workers and most junior workers tended to spread around furthest away from the coffee counter, according to their cliques. These were based on townships of origin, so that those boys who lived in Orlando would associate together, and those from Meadowlands would do the same, and so forth and so on. Most of these groups looked down at patronizing

the canteen since they considered it suitable for older men rather than for younger men. Consequently they had most of their lunch-hour meals and recreation at the local restaurants and cafes, where they could play cards and gamble and perhaps smoke their dagga (a kind of marijuana).

Both Company B and Company A were owned by Jewish businessmen, who identified with the British liberal element in Johannesburg. They therefore made a show at being non-racial and sympathetic to the cause of the Black workers and at keeping a distance from the Afrikaners. A strong consciousness of occupational difference was evident, which was the occasion of jealousies and suspicions, and this showed itself in resisting the employment of Africans from a different location or from a different status category. Because differences in type of work one performed in a company meant higher pay, occupational differences became an index for social and status differences.

The White-Collar Workers

The African white-collar group in this context will include all those individuals employed in the so-called intellectual occupations, such as teaching, ministry, nursing, office-work, social work, journalism, laboratory technicians, clerks, and radio announcers. This group was classified as professional and managerial people in South Africa by the Union Statistics Bureau. (See Table X). According to the Census figures of 1960 there were 402,289 Africans employed in the above category which totalled 760,240 workers. This was more than 53.1% of the economically active gainfully employed.

TABLE IX
DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIALLY
EMPLOYED POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA ^c
(1960)

| OCCUPATION | WHITES | COLOURED | INDIANS | AFRICANS | TOTAL |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Prof. Tech. | 132,546 | 13,830 | 5,124 | 48,714 | 200,214 |
| 2. Admin. Exec. | 57,003 | 1,210 | 2,568 | 4,796 | 65,577 |
| 3. Sales Mangr. | 21, 663 | 3,875 | 8,929 | 13,624 | 48,061 |
| 4. Farm Mangr. | 97,662 | 3,331 | 9,241 | 336,155 | 446,389 |
| TOTAL | 308,844 40.6% | 22,246 2.9% | 25,862 3.4% | 402,289 53.1% | 760,240 100.00% |
| 5. Clerical | 280,838 | 8,166 | 8,199 | 19,472 | 316,675 |
| 6. Artisans, Semi-Skilled | 258,461 | 113,515 | 26,171 | 23,948 | 422,095 |
| TOTAL ECON.* ACTIVE IN % | 539,299 72.9% | 121,681 16.4% | 34,370 4.6% | 43,420 6.1% | 738,770 100.00% |

*According to the Census definition "the Economically active population" comprises employers, employees, own-account workers and work-seekers.

^cSources: Union Statistics for Fifty Years: 1910-1960.

There was also a large number of professional and technical employees (48,714), which was greater than the number of clerically employed Africans (19,472) and semi-skilled workers (23,948). Part of the explanation of this large figure was due to the increased entries into the occupational categories of - teachers, social workers, nurses, lab technicians and others. This manifested the popularity of professional positions among the educated Africans in South Africa. This group had increased steadily as a result of urbanization and industrialization. And by 1960 they numbered 25,000 teachers, 7,000 nurses, 200 lab assistants, 70 postmasters, 70 librarians, and an unknown number of clerks and interpreters, salesmen, social workers, and ministers of religion. In addition some 12,000 policemen were classified in this category.

Professionally employed Africans enjoyed a higher occupational and social status than the factory workers and domestic workers, because of their education, their higher income and the relatively responsible positions they occupied, which did not require constant supervision. This gave them a high status in the occupational hierarchy.

The Self-Employed Africans

A small but prosperous group of self-employed Africans has emerged since the establishment of the townships in 1936. This was the only group which could boast freedom from employment by White industries. However, this notion was weakened by their dependence on White wholesalers

and factories for their goods, and in their ignorance of bookkeeping experience and their inability to buy shares or to invest in large corporations owned by White businessmen. They were engaged in small enterprises and businesses.

In 1946/47, there were 761 African-owned retail outlets in the Union of South Africa, and one wholesaler. These figures had increased to 1,135 and 21 respectively in 1952. In 1960, the number was estimated at 16,000. In comparison with White traders this was minimal. The latter, in 1952, accounted for 26,373 retail outlets out of a total of 34,817, and for 4,575 wholesale establishment out of a total of 4,904. The rest were in the hands of Asiatics. The African's share of commerce was very small. This applied also to Soweto, where in 1965 there were only 2,000 traders.

These figures seem to indicate that the growth of African commerce was bound up with the growth of the African urban populations, which was attributable as we have shown, to the unprecedented pace of industrial development following the discovery of gold and diamonds and the growth of manufacture industries. The vast rehousing schemes in Johannesburg stepped up the development of African commerce, since they were situated outside the downtown shopping centres. And finally, government policy, by insisting that Africans serve their own people in their own areas, had contributed to the limited growth of African business.¹¹

¹¹Mkele, Nimrod, op. cit., pp. 218-221.

In the category of self-employed Africans can be included a small group of doctors, lawyers and architects in private practice. They ran surgeries and clinics in the African townships. Lawyers were often attached to legal firms in the city where they had their offices. Most African architects (more accurately, draughtsmen) worked at their homes, where they contacted customers (mostly Africans) who wanted to add a wing or two to their houses or businesses. They were not usually engaged on large projects involving business companies.

The status consciousness and intergroup relationships of the professionals and the self-employed will be discussed in the following section.

III. COMMUNITY INFLUENTIALS AND GROUP PRESTIGE

In this section an attempt will be made to relate the patterns of influence and group prestige to the occupational structure in Soweto (particularly the higher-income groups). Attention will be drawn to our research problem (b) in Chapter 1, namely: "What formal and informal power groups (clique structures) could be observed in Soweto, and what roles did various key individuals play in the informal structure during the period of observation (roughly 1956 to 1966)?"

Our research problem is related to the basic purpose of the study, that is, the description of the influence patterns (power groups) among the Africans in the past three hundred years in South Africa, from the pre-colonial traditional power structure of chiefs and headmen to the

modern occupational status structure of the urban Africans.

The literature seems to indicate a move from an ascribed-influence system based on family status in the pre-colonial, pre-industrial Nguni-Sotho society to an achievement-oriented system based on individual status, in the urban African society, attained by education, occupation and wealth.

During the period of observation I have found that the most influential individuals in Soweto tended to possess a high-level of education (usually a university degree), a highly paying job (roughly \$2500 per annum) or wealth (in the form of property, movable goods and money in the bank rather than in business investment). Their influence was shown mainly in their own occupational classes, since there was little association between the different occupational levels.

Traders and prominent businessmen had great influence on the working-class Africans, who formulated the bulk of their customers. As a result they were more likely to take an active interest in business or commercial organizations and township "administration" through advisory boards than did the educated African professionals. The latter carried weight in "cultural" and social activities, political activities and private associations. As an oppressed intelligentsia they were more likely than the traders to oppose the status quo in the press and on the air, and to distinguish themselves from the "masses."

The influence pattern of the two groups will be discussed separately so as to bring out the contributions of each.

Businessmen and the Trader's Associations

The development of African business in Johannesburg was greatly dependent on the growth of the African population in the townships, and on the improvement of the standard of living and consumption among Africans as a result of manufacturing industries. The extension and tightening of apartheid legislation was also indirectly favourable to the development of trading and commerce for the African businessman who suddenly found themselves in direct monopoly of the African 'buying' power, which was estimated at \$12 billion in May, 1963.¹² Similar observations can be made about parallel conditions in certain Black businesses in the United States.¹³

The prominent businessmen of Soweto included those who owned more than one kind of business and had assets ranging from \$50,000 to \$100,000. These were usually groceries, restaurants, service stations, wholesale depots and theatres. They were owned and operated by one individual. A number of partnerships were beginning to emerge by the latter part of 1965 as a result of the establishment of the African Chamber of Commerce and various other trader's associations.

The role of the prominent businessmen in Soweto and their influence was shown in the part they played in the Township Advisory Boards.

¹²SAPA (Reuter), The Rand Daily Mail, 20th May (1963) p. 9.

¹³Myrdal, G., An American Dilemma, New York: (1944), pp. 908-912 and Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie, New York: (1966) Paperback, Chapter 2 and 8.

Advisory boards were among the many African statutory bodies which shared in the subordination of African to a general policy over which they had no ultimate control. Legislative provision was made for their establishment under the Native (Urban Areas) Act No. 21 of 1963 (see Chapter IV).

Advisory Boards were mechanisms for consultation between the local authorities and urban African residents. They were to "act entirely in an advisory capacity" on matters affecting their welfare. Members of the Boards could pass outright resolutions in regard to such matters as confirmation of minutes, quorum, and deliberations of their sub-committees. For the rest, they had to make reference to higher bodies or "resolve to recommend," to the White-controlled City Council of Johannesburg. They could also initiate reports on any matter affecting the interests of Africans in the urban areas, and could recommend regulations that would be binding on the residents. The City Council was under no obligation to adapt recommendations by the Advisory Boards.

The subordination of the Boards to the White power structure reduced their influence among the Africans in Soweto. They were structured on a paternalistic basis under White patronage.'

The executives of the Boards were elected annually by the residents of each township. Campaign issues ranged from extension of shopping hours to the building of civic centres. Those most likely to win township elections were leaders who were known in the township to be brave enough to demand the basic needs of the residents from the White-control-

led City Council. Courage to speak out was more important than establishing good communication with the Establishment. Consequently, Congress (African National Congress) members tended to draw the confidence of the people.

Active participation on the Boards was beneficial to businessmen because then they could advertise their businesses and attract more customers. At the same time, it provided them an opportunity of coming into contact with the White power structure in Johannesburg. Some prominent businessmen in Soweto were held in high esteem by the White Nationalist Party members for their role on advisory boards and their support for the Government's policy of separate development. They were sometimes granted a private audience with the late Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd in Pretoria, in the early sixties. At this time the South African government had embarked on a large project of border industries, aimed at attracting industries and African business to the so-called "Bantu Homelands ."

In general, the economic interests of businessmen enjoying the limited benefits of apartheid-induced monopolies tended to counteract their solidarity with African political hostility to apartheid.

Kuper¹⁴ observed in his Durban sample that officials were described as favoring particular candidates and interfering in the elections

¹⁴Kuper, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

of the Advisory Boards. The following theme was typical of most of his interviews:

Anybody who has a lot to say within the Combined Advisory Boards is regarded as an enemy of the City Council and consequently an undesirable Native who should be deported out of the urban area to the place of his domicile.

Some informants believed that the City Council granted or withheld trading sites as a means of taming outspoken critics.

The traders associations. In an attempt to embark on large-scale business enterprise, members of the different business cliques established the African Chamber of Commerce (aimed at bulk buying of wholesale products), the Ikaheng (Build Yourself) Finance Corporation Limited, the Bantoe Winkelierse Helpmekaar Vereeniging, the Johannesburg and District Trader's Association, the Itekeng (Put Yourself to the Test) Syndicate (Pty), the wood and coal wholesale distributors and the Orlando African Cartage Association. New avenues were being opened and greater opportunities seized under the aegis of the apartheid policy. "by devious routes" as Kuper states, "the ethnic of Afrikaner Calvinism appears to be fostering the spirit of African capitalism."¹⁵ Inevitably it was confined to a petty-bourgeois or small business-type of operation.

The most interesting associations, from the point of view of our

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 261.

analysis, are the African Chamber of Commerce and its Finance Corporation, and the Bantoe Winkelierse Helpmekaar Vereeniging. The former was established under the patronage of liberal White Organizations and the latter under Nationalist Government support.

The African Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1958 by a prominent businessman Mr. Mavimbela in Soweto. Its aim was to promote and protect the business interests of the African traders and to act as agents for and give advice and assistance to its members. The constitution provided for its eventual sub-division into Provincial Chambers and a Federation of South Africa.

The establishment of the Chamber attracted the attention of various organizations and individuals interested in African economic development. A few sympathetic white manufacturers donated a few thousand dollars for the founding of the Chamber, while the "Bantu" Welfare Trust Fund (a liberal organization) made grants totalling \$4,500.

Among its achievements was the establishment of a monthly publication "The African Trader", which carried news affecting traders, prices of items, wages for assistants, hints on efficient business administration, personal notes, and other matters relating to business.¹⁶

The executive of the Chamber was both educated and political; they were strong supporters of the African National Congress. The past

¹⁶Reyburn, Lawrence, "African Traders", Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, (1960) RR. 83/60, pp. 22-25.

president, Mr. Paul Mosaka (from whom this information was obtained) was an active Congress member. He even established a grocery business with the Dr. Moroka, a former President of the Congress. He was also a member of the Institute of Race Relations and the Board of the Bantu Trust Fund established by Mr. Donaldson, a prominent member of the White community in Johannesburg. This fund provided bursaries for thousands of Africans who were proceeding to University education in the Arts and Sciences.

The "Ikaheng Finance Corporation Limited" also directed by Mr. Mosaka, was the financial wing of the Chamber which had as its aims, the provision of loans to African traders, who would otherwise not be in a position to obtain such finance from White banks. In addition expert advice on trade affairs and business management was provided through the services of a White chartered accountant consulted by the Corporation.

The two organizations played an important part in business matters in Johannesburg. Their contacts with liberal White organizations that were openly opposed to the racist policies of the South African Government, and with the Congress gave them great influence in the community. Their publication carried highly rated articles on African business and was quoted widely in South Africa.

The Nationalist Party-supported Winkelierse Association has been in existence since 1958 with a membership of two thousand. It was strong in Soweto and the Pietersburg area. Its president and founder was Soweto's "millionaire," Mr. Ephraim Shabalala. The strength of

this association lay in its guarantee that a certain amount of security and insurance would be paid in time of trouble and difficulties.

The Winkelierse Association was strongly dominated by African traders who were in favour of the Government's policy of separate development. They were supported by the Government as a stimulation and encouragement of African business in African areas. The educational background and general knowledge of commerce and business administration of the executive members left much to be desired. The president had no more than elementary school education; his orientation was traditional and conservative. The Association ran into problems in 1960 when it was instructed to register in terms of the Companies Act. Its members were not familiar with the technicalities of this procedure, and some confusion arose.¹⁷

A rising commercial class appears to develop a great voracity. Perhaps the explanation is that its members are recruited from strata of the population with low and regular expectations of income. Trading breaks these norms of near-subsistence living and offers endless vistas of rising standards. There are now no limits to the ambitions of the trader and, the making of money being defined as a morally praiseworthy enterprise, he acts with a ruthless disregard for the interests of others. It is to be expected that many of the African traders will not scruple to exploit racial antagonism, first for the rewards offered by apartheid, and then, as they gain strength to set aside the burdensome restraints, for the rewards of the wider society."¹⁸

¹⁷Reyburn, op. cit., pp. 22-24

¹⁸Kuper, op. cit., p. 288

The Educated Influentials

The educated professional Africans in Soweto enjoyed a rather exaggerated esteem from the masses. Their acquisition of their professional degrees was followed by big receptions and publicity. They were never allowed to escape from the public eye, which always looked to them for leadership and guidance. At the same time their position was both ambiguous and frustrating. In Molema's comments, "education has refined and is refining their senses and sensibilities, only that they may more poignantly feel their present injuries; it has awakened hope and ambition only to cruelly disappoint them."¹⁹

The educated influentials were the individuals to whom such terms as "socialites", "upper crusts", or the "intelligentsia" were applied by the Township Press. Their influence was felt more in the informal "cultural" structure of the community than in the formal policy and decision making process, which was the preserve of the White ruling classes. They were the "innovators" and "exemplars" of the urban African in Soweto.

The educated influentials in Soweto, during the period of observation, were all those individuals with post-graduate degrees in the sciences and the arts, the medical, legal and engineering professions. They were either employed by industries, or were self-employed in private practice. Most physicians and lawyers were in private practice. Most other

¹⁹ Molema, S. M., The Bantu-Past and Present, Edinburg: Green, 1920, p. 320.

graduates were employed by the Institute for Personnel Research, by private industries as personnel and/or public relations officers, by newspaper companies as editors and journalists, and by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (government controlled) as radio announcers. A few well-known entertainers were employed by Union Artists in Johannesburg.

The educated Africans used the press, the radio, and public appearances to influence the "masses ." They were the critics of style of life and consumption-patterns, and they set the example in mimicking European culture.

The following account by Anthony Sampson, a British author and journalist, captured this picture vividly showing the general interests and aspirations of the educated influentials:

We were driving into Orlando, nine miles out of Johannesburg - the beginning of the great Black metropolis that serves the White City. It had grown bigger in the two years since I was last there . . . I was on my way to a party at the house of the jazz composer and commercial traveller, Todd Matshikiza.

The room was filled up to squeezing point Elaborate cocktail snacks were handed round and balanced on knees . . . Zeke, the doyen of African writers, was leading a discussion on the floor about the need for an African artists' circle . . . Dam Dam [Nathan Dambuza] sat in the corner, in black suit with huge cuff-links and a carnation button hole. He was leader of the Manhattan Brothers, the most famous singing troupe in Black Africa.

In the corner where I was sitting Leslie, a Coloured carpenter-intellectual inclined towards Trotsky was telling how . . . he and Todd had gone to buy a salami at a shop in town . . . Leslie was one of that small number of Coloureds who, fed up with the colour snobbery of their own people, prefer to go about with

Africans . . .

Then, just as all the talk in the room was in danger of becoming whicked into the old vortex of race and bitterness the lithe jazz pianist Salisbury Klaaste slumped on the piano in the corner and began rather drunkenly dragging thin pointed fingers over the keys. Sal had taken his B.Mus. (Degree) at the University (of Witwatersrand) two years before and, after refusing a job helping a White man study primitive African music had become pianist to the Jazz Dazzlers [a singing group].

We slipped away, leaving the shuffling and singing to go on through the night and all through the next Sunday morning, the party guests trapped by the talk and music like ship-wrecked people in a boat.²⁰

The size of the professional group was no more than ten per cent of the total population in Soweto during the period of observation, They constituted, as van den Berghe stated,²¹ a small class which almost exclusively formulated the ideology of nationalism, led the freedom movement, and came to constitute the ruling oligarchy of the emerging nations. According to him, Africa more than any other continent is ruled by an aristocracy of learning. (Further descriptions of this group will be made in the following section.)

IV. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND STYLE OF LIFE OF THE SOWETO PRESTIGE GROUPS

With their prolonged education and direct or vicarious experience;

²⁰ Sampson, Anthony, "Orlando Revisited," Africa South, Vol. 3, No. 4, (July-September, 1959), pp. 4-44.

²¹ van den Berghe, Pierre, Africa: Special Problems of Change and Conflict, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1965, p. 161.

with travel and the contacts it provides; and wider contact with reading materials and the mass media, the influential Africans have discarded the provincialism and traditionalism of the less educated African in Soweto. Their interest in issues, places, and ideas beyond the awareness of the masses draws them together and gives them common ground for understanding and fellowship. Their respect for scientific reason and analysis as opposed to supernatural explanation of natural phenomena draws them together. Their organization of life tended to provide some unity; they work in similar surroundings, associate with another, attend the same social affairs, go to the same recreational clubs and to some extent share the same schedule.²² Consequently their characteristic relationships, their style of life, their intellectual and cultural life, and their idealism were distinctive characteristics in themselves.

Social Relationships

Normally family members of equal training and background composed the inner circle of friends. There was a tendency towards individualism on the part of the prominent Africans. They were inclined to reduce the scope of persons included in their kinship groups thus decreasing the potential drain on their resources by unsophisticated and more demanding relatives, who did not fit into the social circle.

²²Smythe and Smythe, op. cit., pp. 92-120.

Beyond the family, associates of higher income groups included other prominent individuals - professionals, business people and artists - with whom they were in constant contact (see Sampson's quotation p.101). Because the segregatory laws in South Africa lumped them with the rest of the Black masses, the higher-income group Africans in Soweto tried the more to isolate themselves in various private clubs and informal meetings. Fine and trivial distinctions were often drawn between members of various status groups, such as fluency and accent in speaking English, choice of furniture and dress, and one's contacts. The efficient use of English was a sign of learning and "class" among these groups.

Family

An exaggerated attention and importance was laid on the children. Their education (usually by private instructors at the pre-school stage), their contacts with children of other higher-income groups, and their facilities for recreation, were closely supervised by their parents. In most cases they were loaded with pocket money and gifts as a means of displaying their family status in the community. They attended private boarding schools usually run by various Church denominations, such as Marian Hill in Natal, Pax Mission in Pietersburg, Pius XII College in Lesotho, the former St. Peters and Ohlange Institution. These high schools and colleges were for the most part the top African schools in the country and required very high fees from the students.

The consumption patterns of higher-income groups (families). The higher status families in Soweto, like Frazier's Black bourgeoisie, became less isolated and "thus more exposed to the contempt and hostility of the White world, but at the same time cherishing the values of the White world, the new Black bourgeoisie with more money at their disposal, have sought compensations in the things that money can buy . . ." ²³ Their exclusion from participation in the general life in Johannesburg enjoyed by the White community has affected the entire outlook on life of these groups. It has meant that Whites did not take them seriously nor regard their activities as of any consequence in South African life. They were never featured in the White-edited "Southern Africa's Who's Who ." This outlook encouraged a spirit of irresponsibility and an attitude of make-believe, which Frazier so clearly described in the case of the Afro-Americans in the United States.

The White upper strata in Johannesburg enjoyed the richest and most varied opportunities for display. Magnificent buildings along the main thoroughfares of the city testified to the commercial prowess of the men; suburban villas in the elite residential areas of Rivonia, Parktown and Lower Houghton testified to the pricelessness of their women. Retinues of servants, tended their appetites, their flowering shrubs, their immaculate lawns. They were exempt from labour that was of any use to man or woman.

²³Frazier, Franklin, op. cit., p. 148.

²⁴Kuper, op. cit., pp. 106-117.

By contrast, the splendour of the upper strata of Soweto society was that of a back alley. The city was virtually closed to their Rockefellers and Oppenheimers. Their own areas left much to be desired. Streets were usually narrow, badly paved, and generally not looked after; houses in their immediate vicinity were sub-economic and small. In many cases they lived side by side with working class individuals, from whom they were constantly taking refuge.

In Soweto, Dube Village ("Sunset Boulevard"), Rockville and Mofolo South, were the districts which were heavily concentrated with the higher income and higher education groups. "Dube is definitely a high class township, the people are of a better class and the houses definitely have character. It is a peaceful community ." This was a comment of one informant in De Ridder's thematic apperception tests of Johannesburg Africans.²⁵

Education

The professional group of the higher status Africans in Soweto received most of their training in South African universities, partly because the Government made it difficult after 1948 for Africans to travel abroad for the purposes of taking up their scholarships. Consequently, education abroad was in itself a symbol of status in Soweto.

The attainment of a degree, particularly graduate degrees, was

²⁵ de Ridder, op. cit., p. 45.

the occasion of celebration and wide publicity in the township newspapers. During such feasts most graduate participants wore their gowns and hoods and it almost always involved a small procession. Donaldson Community Centre in Orlando and the Bantu Men's Social Centre were the most favoured places for such celebrations.

The following extract from an interview with an African intern in Johannesburg is illustrative of this outlook:

When I qualified, they made a big splash in the papers. Oh, they made a big splash alright. I really got embarrassed. The Star, Rand Daily Mail. People kept telling me I must pick the best man for a husband - somebody special. This is what the relatives say - somebody respectable, wealthy. A great fuss is made about a doctor. If you're not introduced as a doctor its alright, you're treated as one of the masses. But if they introduce you as a doctor, my word they make such a fuss, you don't know where to turn²⁶

Leisure Patterns

In their attempt to isolate themselves and to keep away from the masses, the upper income groups normally went out of their way to engage in upper class leisure activities. Concerts and theatrical entertainment was the most favoured. The horse races in the summer (the July Handicap) was another occasion for display. Attendance at important local events, such as the Beauty Competition, boxing tournaments and

²⁶Kuper, op. cit., p. 125, Africans seemed to consider academic achievement the mark of individual emancipation from the inferior caste status imposed by the Whites. At the same time education meant that the community had a spokesman to represent in the White resistance and demand for civil rights.

invitations to Embassies in Pretoria for special occasions, were greatly sought after. Such events enjoyed a wide coverage in the African press, which often exaggerated their importance.

Political Activities

Active participation in the political life of South Africa was the privilege of the Whites. The educated influentials had no franchise, could not become members of parliament, or sit in Provincial Councils and City Councils. The only party in parliament that continued to have Africans on its list was the White Liberal Party and the Progressive Party. The former was more radical and therefore very unpopular with the Government and the latter was more liberal and was dominated by businessmen, professional groups and those Whites who were disgruntled with the double-uncommitted policy of the United Party, the official Opposition Party. Membership in any White political organization was considered a mark of prestige by the educated Africans in Soweto.

The liberation movement, under the direction of the African National Congress, gave the educated Africans an opportunity to distinguish themselves as freedom fighters. The African National Congress developed into a key organization for the mobilization of forces against the White supremacist regime in South Africa. The educated Africans and most prominent businessmen played an active role in the Congress. They constituted the executive of the Movement.

Africans in Soweto normally expected all highly qualified individuals to take up leading positions in the Congress and use their academic power and their general familiarity with the White man's way of life to fight for the freedom of their oppressed brothers. It is to the description and analysis of this movement that the next chapter of this study is devoted.

V. SUMMARY

In this chapter an analysis of prestige and influence in Soweto was made, for the purpose of relating it to industrialization and the emergence of occupational differentiation. Comparison with the traditional power structure was drawn in order to show the nature of influence and prestige in the pre-colonial period, and as a demonstration of similarities and differences in the urban African status structure in Soweto.

In the next chapter, further consequences of industrialization such as the appearance of labour unions, political parties, and the freedom movement, are described as a further consequence of the movement towards "classes".

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION IN SOWETO

The Black Africans have always remained a politically oppressed and economically exploited majority, a dis-franchised helotry. The growing militancy of the African liberatory movements has been met by ever more ruthless repression, culminating in today's Afrikaner Nationalist police state with its policy of racial segregation and discrimination known as apartheid. One may safely assert that South Africa today is the most virulently racist country in the world. The White-Black struggle has clearly become the paramount source of strain in South Africa today.¹

Van den Berghe's statement gives some insight into the social and political situation of the Africans in South Africa since Union (1910). The statement also evaluates the liberation movement and its repercussions on the Nationalist Government's "Native" policy.

It is difficult at this stage to draw causal relationships between industrialization and racial conflicts in South Africa, because of lack of theoretical studies in this area. Historical data, census reports, and survey statistics on the industrialization of the Africans in South Africa seem to indicate a trend towards a greater association between industrialization as it occurred in South Africa and the intensification of the racial conflict, at least, in so far as industrialization provided a context for the socio-economic exploitation of the Africans.

¹Van den Berghe, Caneville, op. cit., p. 4.

Racial conflicts in South Africa were present as early as the seventeenth century. Present also was competition for land and cattle. Industrialization in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, intensified racial conflicts. The factory became the new context for economic and racial differentiation. White South Africans were more determined to maintain their monopoly in all sectors of the economic and political life. Consequently, they apportioned for themselves the best positions in industry and the public service, the richest sections of the country and the best residential areas at the expense of the Blacks.

This section is concerned with the liberation movement, the course it followed since the first European settlement in 1652, the impact it had on the processes of social change (colonization and industrialization), and on the emergence of a class structure in South Africa. Because of the diffuse nature of the movement there will be an overlap between what took place in Soweto as such and what took place in South Africa.

I. THE STRUGGLE FOR A BIRTHRIGHT BEGINS

For the purposes of this study the terms "nationalist movement," "liberatory movement" and "freedom struggle" will be used interchangeably to convey the struggle by Africans for their freedom and birthright.

The struggle for a birthright for the African in South Africa

is as old as White settlement in the country. It started with the struggle by the Settlers to obtain cattle and fresh supplies for passing vessels to and from the East; it was further stimulated by the Frontier farmers in their desperate bid to grab more land and cattle. This resulted in many fierce battles between the settlers and the Africans, in economic enslavement of the Africans, and complete denial of their human rights in the twentieth century. "It became an axiom of the White government. . . that no equality, social or political, must ever be tolerated between black and white."²

When military efforts proved futile for the Africans they attempted, by various kinds of peaceful means, to attain freedom and equality in South Africa. Christianity, education, and westernization were initially seen as effective means of attaining European civilization and with it perhaps recognition by the White man. The futility of this approach was realized as early as the 1880's, when missionary work was at the zenith of its success in South Africa. (See Chapter IV.)

Black political organizations such as "Imbumba Yama Afrika" (Union of Africans) in 1880, the Natal Indian Congress in 1894, and the African People's Organization in 1905 were formed in order to protest against the oppression of Non-White in South Africa.

²Roux, Edward, Time Longer Than Rope: A History of the Black Man's Struggle for Freedom in South Africa, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964, p.24.

Issues then were similar to those that are still current in South Africa today. The Pass Laws³ and location laws constituted the main items of protest. Liquor laws, anti-African legislation and the unequal administration of justice in the courts also came under fire. It was the raising of the franchise qualification and the imposition of a land tax that started waves of protests and demonstrations in the Non-White political organizations before 1910.

II. BELIEF IN WHITE LIBERALISM, 1910-1936

There was a general belief in the myth that sympathetic White liberals in South Africa would act to reduce discrimination against Africans. It is easy to understand this feeling among educated Africans at this time, because many had recently fought on the side of the English in the Anglo-Boer War against the Boers. They were educated and trained in liberal missionary institutions. As a result leaders of the movements were either ministers of religion or lawyers or land owners. As far as was possible they wanted to preserve the status quo, as long as they were given a share of the cake.

³Passes were identity documents required from every African, resident or working in the so-called White areas. They were intended as a means of control of the influx of Blacks in these areas and to check vagrancy. Police concerned themselves with raiding Africans for these papers and liquor, rather than protecting them against crime.

Africans showed great confidence in the educated. The traditional belief in the power of chiefs and warriors was beginning to wane. Bambata's uprising in 1906 was the last armed revolt against Government legislation (this time the poll tax) organized by a traditional ruler. The 'masses' believed that only the educated African intellectuals, with their knowledge of the White man's culture would be effective as leaders. Attainment of a higher degree qualified the holder for a position of importance in the liberation movement.

Great changes took place in the political structure of South Africa, beginning with the formation of the Union of South Africa, through the founding of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, to the establishment of Soweto in 1936. (See Table X).

The founding of Union in 1910 marked a decisive point in the country's political evolution. With Union, the country continued on the road to White domination, and engaged itself in a vicious circle of repression and extreme racialism. From then on, a return to sanity became increasingly unlikely and difficult in South Africa.⁴

The exclusion of Africans and other non-White groups in the formation of the constitution of the Union of South Africa, and the concern for making an alliance with the Boers, demoralized non-White confidence in the English. As a counter measure, they formed National

⁴Van den Berghe, South Africa. op. cit., pp. 179-180.

TABLE X

CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EVENTS, 1910-1936

| | |
|------|--|
| 1910 | The Union of South Africa formed from the four colonies May 31st. |
| 1912 | First meeting of South African Native National Congress (later African National Congress); founding of Abantu-Batho newspaper. |
| 1913 | Native Land Act. White Miner's strike on Rand. |
| 1914 | White Miner's strike on Rand. First World War begins. |
| 1915 | Left Socialists break away from Labour Party and form International Socialist League. |
| 1917 | Industrial Workers of Africa founded by International Socialist League. |
| 1918 | 'Bucket strike' in Johannesburg by African sewage removers. |
| 1919 | A.N.C. leads pass-burning campaign on Rand. Industrial and Commercial Union founded at Cape Town by Clemens Kadalie. |
| 1920 | African miner's strike. |
| 1925 | Growth of I.C.U. supported by the Communist Party. African pass law extended to African women, but A.N.C. win test case against the law. |
| 1927 | South Africa represented at Brussels Conference of League against Imperialism by Gumede, LaGuma, Dan Col-raine. First African Trade Unions formed (by communists) on Rand. |
| 1932 | Bolshevisation of the Communist Party under Comintern; influence of Party among Africans declines; Native trade unions antagonized; |
| 1933 | Agitation on Rand among African unemployed. Police arrest African leaders. Joint demonstration of black and white unemployed in Johannesburg. Communist Party issues Indlela Yenkululeko (Road to Freedom) for African intellectuals; contact with Fort Hare students. |
| 1936 | Establishment of Soweto, Founding of the Non-European Railway and Harbour Workers' Union. |

Based on the Chronology compiled by Roux, op. cit., pp. 437-440.

Congresses, which were structured along democratic lines. They had a House of Commons and an upper house of Chiefs. The African National Congress was headed by a President-General with his executive.

The first conference of the National Congress in 1912 was organized by Dr. P. ka Seme, a young African lawyer trained in Columbia University and the London Bar. It was well attended. Delegates included chiefs from different ethnic groups in South Africa; diverse nationality groups who were hitherto hostile to one another or had shown little interest in one another. They came by train, ox-wagon, on horseback and by bicycle to Bloemfontein, the place of the conference. This was the first major step to National unity among the Africans in South Africa.

In his opening address, Dr. Seme outlined the purpose of the conference:

We have gathered here to consider and discuss a scheme which my colleagues and I have decided to place before you. We have discovered that in the land of their birth, Africans are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The white people of this country have formed what is known as the Union of South Africa -- a union in which we have no voice in the making of laws and no part in the administration. We have called you therefore, to this conference so that we can together find ways and means of forming our national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privilege⁴

With the formation of Congress and the overwhelming support it received from all sectors of the African population and other sympathetic

⁴Quoted by R. V. Selope Thema, in Drum, July 1953.

groups, the liberation movement took definite steps. A road was paved for radical White organizations to mobilize Africans and disconcerted non-Whites against the Government.

This was a period of rapid industrial expansion in South Africa. The African population in the Rand increased from 294,467 in 1911 to a million in 1936. With this increase in population there was an increase also in conflicts for equal rights, equal pay, and equal opportunity. Political awareness among the Blacks became greater than ever before.

III. WHITE MAN'S PATH OF HONOURABLE TRUSTEESHIP

1936-1939

The waves of protest and agitation for equal rights for non-White people in South Africa brought about a minor compromise on the part of the South African government. They established a Representative Council, all White, to represent Africans in Parliament. They were to be elected by the Africans themselves through electoral colleges.

This gesture of honourable trusteeship was unsatisfactory to the Blacks. It was looked upon as an insult to African leadership. The Council seemed to indicate that Africans were not competent to represent themselves in the White man's parliament.

At the break of the Second World War all types of peaceful means had been tried without success in South Africa: peaceful

deputations before 1913, the passive resistance measures of Mahatma Ghandi, and the stay-at-home strikes. It was becoming increasingly evident that violence and revolution were the only means for significant socio-political change.

IV. THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS MILITANCY 1943-1956

The period shortly after the war became more militant and revolutionary. The 1949 Programme of Action, and the 1955 Freedom Charter marked the first truly militant and outspoken platforms of liberation, and the first unequivocal departures from the more conciliatory approach of the older leadership in the A.N.C. and the All-African Convention represented by such leaders as Dr. Xuma and Professor Jabavu.⁶ The youth league in Congress and the Communist Party in the African Trade Unions played an active part in the early stages of militancy.

African Trade Unions

The growth of manufacturing industries, after the depression, and the rapid increase of the African population in Johannesburg offered a ripe situation for the emergence of labour unions. The White labour unions did not admit non-Whites.

Trade unions among the Africans were organized by White

⁶ van den Berghe, op. cit., p. 180.

socialist individuals in the Rand in 1927. By 1929 they had an aggregate membership of 10,000 workers. The non-White unions were all registered in a Non-European Trade Union Federation.

In 1937, the White, South African Trade and Labour Union Council affiliated some non-White unions. Out of the 38 affiliated unions in the Council, only 8 were non-White. They represented 400 in a total of 21,000 African affiliated members. The non-European membership was little more than a token in the Council membership. By 1945 the Non-European Trade Union Council represented over 150,000 organized African workers in South Africa, of which 80,000 held membership in 50 Johannesburg Trade Unions.

African labour unions could be classified in the following categories, according to Roux:⁵

- (a) Those controlled by communist organizations;
- (b) Unions controlled by Bunting's Worker's International League (Trotskyist);
- (c) Independent unions, which closely cooperated with the socialists during most of the war years (they were all African-led).
- (d) A group of unions led by D. Koza, originally affiliated with the Trotskyist League, though they claimed to be without affiliation in 1945.

⁵Roux, op. cit., pp. 332-334.

African labour unions organized most of the unskilled African workers and miners into an effective body for resistance to exploitation of workers. For the first time in the history of the liberatory movement, semi-literate, migrant miners went on strike, demanded increased wages and better working conditions. This resulted in more than 73,557 miners staying at home in the strike of 1946, bringing mining operations to a standstill. Thirty-two of the Rand's forty-five mines were affected.

The significance of the formation of African trade unions was the impact they had on South African industries and in bringing about the growing militancy of the liberatory movement. The influence of socialism and communism was also strongly felt in these organizations.

The Youth League

The formation of the youth league in 1944 as an active wing of the African National Congress was the result of previous events, particularly contact with free nations in Europe during the war. In support of this contention, Mary Benson states that: "injustice in South Africa and ideas of freedom abroad fanned the flames of political discontent into a new and self inspired nationalism among young Africans. They wanted to rid their people of the sense of inferiority that had insidiously grown over years of oppression."⁶

⁶ Benson, Mary, The Struggle for a Birthright, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966, p. 80.

The League placed great emphasis on Africanism. Their motto was the "African cause must triumph." They attacked past policies of the African National Congress, which they felt had yielded to oppression -- "regarding itself as a body of gentlemen with clean hands."⁷ They had ambitious goals of leading the spirit of African nationalism and giving force, direction and vigor to the freedom movement by reinforcing the Congress. To them the "harshness of White domination" roused feelings of hatred in the African.

Though they rejected "foreign leadership" and the wholesale importation of foreign ideologies into Africa, useful ideas could be borrowed from such ideologies. Their plans were strongly militant.

Shanty Town

Conditions created by the war set off a series of revolts with a pattern of mass action led by indigenous leaders thrown up by the situation, and responding to human needs.

The most significant mass movement was the spontaneous trek by thousands of African families from Orlando to vacant municipality park land in 1944. They squatted here, setting up shanties of sack-cloth, old iron and corn stalks. Thousands more joined them.

Shanty Town had an impact on the City Council of Johannesburg, in that African housing was speeded up and conditions were improved

⁷Quoted from "Inyaniso" (Voice of African Youth) in Benson, op. cit., p. 80.

for many residents of African townships.

The bus boycott of 1944 in Alexandra could also be considered one of these spontaneous demonstrations against the oppressive measures of the Government. Paradoxically enough, both movements were effective in achieving their goals.

The second world war gave African soldiers a broader awareness of the World situation and of the improvements certain nations had made in their progress to freedom and advancement. They felt themselves part of a world wide movement for freedom. Their return to South Africa's racist system increased their frustration. They became increasingly aware of their suppression in a world that was progressing towards freedom. Congress movements as a result became more demanding and more militant.

The extent and support of revolutionary movements organized by the people themselves, rather than by Congress, indicated the effectiveness of such organizations. However, the bourgeoisie-dominated Congress did not learn a lesson from this development. They left the organization of the labor unions to the communist party, and mass mobilization to spontaneous new leaders.

V. THE TREASON TRIAL 1956-1961

The Treason Trial came suddenly and by surprise, at the time when Congress leaders were at their lowest ebb. They had internal

organization problems. They were constantly harassed by the new extremist Nationalist Government and had lost their hold over the "masses ." The treason arrest gave them an added popularity. For the first time they were detained as a group. The reaction of the people to this event was bound to be violent. (See Table XI.)

The Trial

"The trial itself," Karis states, "occurred, however, in the last stage of the period of non-violence. Its duration overlapped the shooting at Sharpeville on March 21, 1960, the five-month national emergency that followed, and the official ban on both African nationalist movements, the A.N.C. and the newer Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)."⁸

The trial that followed the arrest of all leaders of Congress, the Indian National Congress and the White Congress of Democrats, was described by a British journalist as "unique in legal history . . . unique in the number of the accused, in the weight of the documents, in the length of the proceedings and, not least, in the extraordinary width of the laws applicable."⁹

The focus of the prosecution, according to an account by Mary Benson¹⁰ was the political movements and policies of the African

⁸Karis, Thomas, The Treason Trial in South Africa: A Guide to the Microfilm Record of the Trial, Stanford University: The Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace, 1965, p. 1.

⁹Gardiner, Gerald, "The South African Treason Trial," Journal of the International Commission of Jurists, Vol. 1 (Autumn 1957), pp. 43, 58.

¹⁰Benson, op. cit., pp. 191-193.

TABLE XI

WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE TRIAL

| | |
|------|--|
| 1948 | Indian passive resisters cross Natal border; Indian leaders, Dadoo and Naicker, imprisoned for defying Immigration Regulation Act of 1913. The United Party defeated in general election: D. F. Malan, Nationalist Party Prime Minister. Sam Kahn (Communist) returned as Native representative for Cape western. Government rejects United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights. |
| 1950 | Suppression of Communism Act. Communist Party dissolved. Classification of all South Africans into separate categories of White, Coloured and African to prevent all "crossing the colour line." |
| 1952 | Kahn expelled from Parliament. Commencement of Defiance Campaign. |
| 1956 | Commencement of "Treason Trial". |
| 1957 | Third Alexandra bus boycott. Stay-at-home strike in June 26. Immorality Act forbids all forms of sexual relationships between Whites and non-Whites under severe penalties. |
| 1958 | Nationalist Government returned for third term of office. Verwoerd becomes prime minister. |
| 1959 | University Apartheid Act. Chief Luthuli banished to Grootville. Bantustan Act passed. Many White and non-White lecturers dismissed from Fort Hare. First Pan African Congress meets at Orlando: Robert Sobukwe, President. |
| 1960 | Abolition of Cape Native representation. Anti-pass demonstration at Sharpeville and Langa, led by Pan-African Congress; many Africans killed and wounded; "State of emergency" declared: Hundreds arrested and detained in prison. David Pratt attempts to assassinate the Prime Minister. Sobukwe sentenced to three year's imprisonment. A.N.C. and P.A.C. banned. Passes for African women announced. |
| 1961 | S. Africa leaves Commonwealth. Treason trial ends with acquittal of all accused. General Law Amendment Act gives authorities sweeping powers to deal with agitators. Call for a stay-at-home strike on "Republic Day". Government replies by calling up 5,000 troops and making numerous arrests. |
| 1962 | Sabotage Act passed, providing for house arrest of banned persons; Mandela is arrested. Bomb explodes in government office in Pretoria. |

PLATE 11: THE ACCUSED



The Accused

NAMES OF THE ACCUSED

Bottom Row: F. Adams, M. Asmal, Y. Barenblatt, H. Barsel, L. Bernstein
P. Beyleveld, I. Bokala, A. Chamile, S. Esakjee, B. Hlapane.

Second Row: A. Hutchinson, J. Hodgson, Helen Joseph, Paul Joseph, F.
Keitsing, Moses Kotane, Jerry Kumalo, A. Kathrada, Leon Levy, Norman
Levy, S. Lollan, F. Madiba.

Third Row: A. Mahlangu, V. Make, P. Mokgoe, Tennyson Makiwane, J. Makue,
H. G. Makgothi, E. Malele, S. Malupe, Nelson Mandela, S. Masemola, L.
Massina, July Mashaba, Bertha Mashaba, P. Mathole, J. Matlou, J. Mavuso.

Fourth Row: T. Musi, J. Modise, P. Molefi, M. Moolla, Dr. H. M. Moosa,
E. P. Moretsele, O. Motsabi.

Fifth Row: M. K. Mpho, S. Nathie, P. Nene, L. Ngovi, B. Ngwendu, J.
Nkadimeng, D. Nokwe, P. Nthite, A. E. Patel, J. Poo, R. Press.

Sixth Row: James Hadebe, M. Ranta, R. Resha, B. Seitshiro, N. Sejake,
P. Selepe, S. Shall, M. Shope, Cleopas Sibande, Walter Sisulu, G. T.
Sibande, Ruth Slovo, Joe Slovo.

Seventh Row: Oliver Tambo, S. Tyiki, R. Tunzi, M. Tshabalala, Rev. D.
C. Thomson, Sonia Bunting, J. Busa, F. Carneson, A. Dawood, L.
Forman, I. O. Horvitch, A. la Guma, C. Makhohliso, D. Mgugunyeka.

Eighth Row: J. Morolong, L. Morrison, J. Mpoza, J. Mtini, G. Ngotyana,
G. Peake, A. Sibeko, R. September.

Ninth Row: A. Silinga, B. Turok, L. B. Lee-Warden, M.P., F. Baard, D.
Fuyani, Rev. S. W. Gawe, J. Jack, C. Jasson, L. Kepe, P. Mashibini.

Tenth Row: J. Matthews, Prof. Z. K. Matthews, W. Mati, Florence Matomela,
C. Mayekiso, W. Mini, E. Mfäxa, S. P. Mkalipi, W. Z. Mkwaiyi, B.
Ndimba, J. Kampeni, B. Ntsangani.

Eleventh Row: B. Nogaya, T. Tshume, T. Tshunungwa, S. Vanga, J. Aren-
stein, Dr. C. Conco, S. Dhlamini, A. Gumede, J. Hoogendyk, G.
Hurbans, Chief A. J. Luthuli, P. S. Manana, I. C. Meer, P. G. Mei,
Bertha Mkize.

Twelfth Row: K. Moonsamy, Dr. M. Motala, Dr. G. M. Naicker, M. P.
Naicker, N. T. Naicker, B. Nair, A. Ngcobo, D. Nyembe.

Thirteenth Row: E. Shanley, Dorothy Shanley, P. Simelane, M. B. Yengwa,
G. Dichabe, Dr. A. E. Letele.

Fourteenth Row: J. B. Mafora, Martha J. Motlhakoana, L. S. Monnanyana,
A. Seochoareng.

Absent: L. Nkosi, S. M. Kumalo, Rev. A. J. Calata, Debi Singh, Stella
Damons, T. Mqota, D. Seedat.

PLATE 12: CROWD GATHERS OUTSIDE COURT AT THE
OPENING OF PREPARATORY EXAMINATION



Crowd gathering outside the Court at the opening of the
Preparatory Examination



The Monkey-Cage
L. to R.: Jackie Arenstein, Yetta Barenblatt and Sonia Bunting

PLATE 13: THE MONKEY CAGE

PLATE 14: THE POLICE CLEAR THE CROWD



The police clear the crowd

Baton charge by the police



PLATE 15: BATON CHARGE BY THE POLICE

National Congress between 1952 and 1956, using the Freedom Charter as the key document. The Prosecutor intended to prove that the accused were members of a National Liberation Front whose spokesmen had propagated a Marxist-Leninist account of society and the state. The Charter, according to the Prosecutor, envisaged steps in the direction of a Communist State and was to be a prelude to revolution.

During the Trial

The Trial had a unifying effect on all forces of the liberation movement. To White liberals and pacifists, it proved as never before that the resistance movement in South Africa was above race. To the masses of Africans in Johannesburg it was the most challenging step.

The Trial was followed by waves of demonstrations, protests, meetings and violent clashes with the police. Wives of Congress leaders led an anti-pass march of 500 women to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1958. The march ended with mass arrests of the protestors. More women voluntarily offered themselves for arrest. Prisons were overcrowded and many were forced to leave for home.

A brief reference to Table XI above will indicate the nature of events in South Africa at this time; from the Nationalist return to power, to the Sharpeville massacre, and the unsuccessful assassination of the prime minister, Dr. Verwoerd.

The Trial's Aftermath

The Treason Trial and the events that followed, destroyed any hope for the effectiveness of non-violent protests. The masses, without their customary leaders, fell prey to young, revolutionary and less disciplined leaders, who sought to overthrow the State violently. It is of interest to note the strong support they received from the people. My general feeling is that they were supported because they were not bourgeoisie-oriented; they appealed to the people at the grassroot level, and they were courageous enough to defy the Government even in the face of imprisonment and danger.

The Trial's aftermath was the suppression of all voices of protest for human rights in South Africa. The withdrawal from the Commonwealth of the Union of South Africa was another step away from influence by international organizations. South Africa could do as she pleased. Silencing the voices of protest and agitation was her main concern.

From this time the Liberation Movement was forced underground. It adopted more violent techniques, such as the organization of sabotage cells. These small cells became the new organizations of the freedom struggle.

VI. THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE

"REIGN OF TERROR" 1961-1964

The State of emergency and what I shall call the "reign of terror," could be considered as the "struggle between Vorster, the minister of justice, and the Black militant organizations."

With the emergency, the Minister of Justice was given sweeping powers in order to bring "law and order." "It became a criminal offence for one banned person to communicate with another . . . for some banned persons to have visitors; for banned people to fail to report regularly to a police station; for some to prepare anything for publication; and for anyone to publish an utterance or writing of a banned person."¹¹

The Nationalist Party's harsh measures forced Congress leaders to adopt more militant techniques, particularly sabotage acts. The year 1960 saw the most widespread wave of protest to date. The anti-pass campaign organized by the Pan-African Congress and later joined by the African National Congress led to the police massacre at Sharpeville on the Rand, to the Pan-African-led protest marches and "stay-at-home" in Cape Town, and to many other African anti-apartheid manifestations in Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein and Pietermaritzburg. The government declared a state

¹¹Benson, op. cit., p. 238.

of emergency, mobilized army reserve units, intensified its repressive measures, banned the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, and made thousands of political arrests without trial.

The outbreak of acts of sabotage opened a new phase of the liberation movement. The government replied with the "Sabotage Act" of 1962, which sanctioned drastic penalties for all acts of sabotage. Between October and mid-December, 1962, there were forty-five reported sabotage attempts, of which thirty-three were successful. In Johannesburg alone, there were six cases of railway sabotage between September, 1962, and April, 1963, involving damage of \$63,000, and twenty-three cases of sabotage.¹¹ Balthazar Vorster (formerly a Nazi sympathizer, now Minister of Justice) declared in Parliament in 1962 that, during this period, 3,246 persons had been arrested as suspected members of underground sabotage organizations. Between January, 1963 and June, 1964, 431 persons have been convicted of sabotage under the "Sabotage Act," and 78 Africans were found guilty of political murder.¹² During 1964, 3,355 people have been arrested, detained, or banned under security laws, 1186 of them without charges.¹³ Between 1961 and 1964 there were a number of reports of arson and

¹¹Africa Today, April 1963, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 3.

¹²Africa Today, 11, June 1964, p. 16.

¹³Africa Digest, 11, April 1964, p. 145.

bombing of post office buildings, police stations, public buildings and power plants. The bombing of the European section of Johannesburg's Park Station was the most dramatic.

The underground sabotage movements were organized by the ANC, with its "Umkhonto WeSizwe" (Spear of the Nation); the African Resistant Movement (ARM) by young White activists; "Poqo" (Pure) by the PAC leaders, and the Yu Chi Chan Club by the Cape Coloureds. The latter was a Red Chinese-oriented organization.¹⁵

The threat of secret police was the most deterring factor against amalgamation of these organizations. They had to ensure secrecy and reliability of members. At the same time ANC and PAC continued their old feud and had little confidence in each other. Poqo was an all-Black organization and was responsible for several acts of violence against White communities in the Cape. The Chan Club was suppressed before it had a chance of taking part in any violent activities.

The underground sabotage organizations were weakened by their lack of unity, their separate programs, and their failure to stir mass revolution. The Government planted informers in every organization, institution or industry that was suspected of harbouring saboteurs. Suspects came under harsh treatment in the 90-day deten-

¹⁴Benson, op. cit., p. 238

¹⁵Information about these organizations was obtained from documents brought into court during the trials of its members.

tion cells. Many were made to stand for periods of ten to twenty hours while a series of special branch detectives questioned and electrocuted them. Under such torture not a few gave out the plans and programs of these organizations. The Rivonia Arrest, after Hepple revealed their program, was the most noteworthy.

The harsh suppression of the underground movement, the detention of all freedom fighters on Robben Island, and the widespread spying of Government informers and special branch police, crippled the fifty-year-old struggle for freedom and equality for the Black man in South Africa. A spirit of apathy, fear and disinterestedness resulted.

VII. A REVIEW OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In reviewing the liberation movement in South Africa certain factors come to our notice.

(1) Experimentation with various techniques - from petitions in the early 1900's to sabotage activities in the 60's. The techniques became more violent and militant as the Government measures became more rigid and ruthless.

(2) The bourgeois orientation of the Congress executive. Domination of Congress leadership by intellectuals and wealthy prominent individuals, was an influence of traditional authority patterns of chiefs and elders. Intellectuals were to play the role of councillors (wise men) and decision-makers that was played by the

royalty and headmen in the traditional structure.

Religion was another factor in the bourgeois orientation of Congress, since the leaders were either ministers of religion or were mission-educated. Non-violence was the most logical approach for them.

(3) Emphasis on non-violence and passive resistance. Congress leaders had more to lose in a revolutionary change of Government. They had businesses, properties, and fairly satisfactory job positions. They therefore strive for a multi-racial South Africa in which they, as the upper status group, would merge with the White power structure. Non-violence was the most convenient tactic for them. We may note the parallel with the middle-class Black organizations (N.A.A.C.P., Urban League, Martin Luther King) in the United States, whose de facto slogan was "count us in."

(4) The period of great disturbance and revolutionary organization coincided with the growth of manufacturing industry and the economic boom in South Africa (1918-1936). The communist party was most active among the working classes. Labour unions emerged and for a while it seemed the underpaid African unskilled worker was beginning to get his share. Strikes, boycotts, and resistance to the police became common measures of protest.

(5) The victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948 was an indicator of the turn the liberation movement would take. Nationalist's repression was bound to lead to increased violence and militancy.

(6) My overall impression of the liberation movement since 1880, was that it gave the Africans a situation with which they could identify. It was clear to most Africans even before the war that achieving freedom would require a strong revolutionary struggle. Many were not willing to pay such a price. Organizing ostentatious conferences, joining protest marches, and getting sympathy from abroad were easier alternatives. Such tactics were bound to have limited results.

(7) From my participation in this movement and my observation of its impact on Soweto, I am inclined to conclude that the liberation movement sharpened class distinctions between the various occupational groups and brought about awareness of status and class differences by offering a context of 'power and influence' for leaders and the followers of the movement. National awareness and Africanism also resulted from the movement.

CHAPTER VII

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The most outstanding observation that is forced upon us by empirical evidence is that the apparatus and operations introduced by industrialization almost invariably adjust and conform to the pattern of race relations in the given society The position is essentially that the racial lines as drawn in a society are followed in the allocation of racial members inside the industrial structure. If the racial patterning in the society has assigned the races to different social positions, defining the appropriate forms of association between them, outlining the kinds of authority, prestige and power allowable to each, indicating the kinds of privilege which attend their respective social positions, and establishing clear schemes of differential relations, this general pattern of relationship is carried over into the industrial structure. The pattern comes to define the types of occupation into which racial members may enter, the types from which they are excluded, and those which do not befit them; it determines who is given access to training and acquisition of skills; it structures the line of promotion, establishing ceiling or 'dead-ends' corresponding to the general social position of subordinate racial groups;¹

Blumer's observation above seems to sum up the network of race and ethnic relations in South Africa as well. Our observation in this study has shown the importance of racial caste-structure in the allocation of jobs and wages in Johannesburg; in the perpetuation of the existing racial structure in job-training and promotion; in the denial of bargaining rights to Africans and the rights to freedom of movement. In short, industrialization in South Africa has accommodated itself to

¹Blumer, Herbert, "Industrialization and Race Relations," in Hunter, Guy (ed.) Industrialization and Race Relations: A Symposium, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 240-241.

the established racial scheme and has continued to operate effectively within it. There was little or no attempt on the part of industrialism to change the patterns of race relations. Blumer himself warns that "prevailing scholarly thought errs grievously in believing that schemes of racial alignment in industry give way naturally and surely to the play of inner forces of industrialization to so-called rational and impersonal motive of industrialism."²

Race relations and industrialization in Soweto and in South Africa as well, seem to have been greatly affected by outside pressures, namely, political pressures. In the early stages of industrialization the colour-bar policies of the Union Government did much to prevent occupational competition between the two races in South African industries. Segregation of the Africans before the second world war was tacitly accepted as a matter of protection and convenience for the Whites. The Nationalist Government came into power on the slogan of apartheid and immediately attempted to impose increased separation in all fields. (Many Nationalist Party supporters had openly supported the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority during the last war.) From this time apartheid became the official doctrine in South African race and political relations. It can be postulated therefore, that the "policy of apartheid which conditions the lives of all South Africans is a direct reaction to the con-

²Ibid., p. 249.

ditions arising from industrialization."³ Growth of industries and large urban centres, the increase in the African labour force, urban housing and the liberation movement could be taken as evidence of this trend.

The author's experience of Soweto and Johannesburg inclines him to the opinion that the liberation movement was also a direct reaction to the adverse conditions brought about by industrialization and race relations in South Africa on the Black man. In the case of Africans it seems that "class" consciousness, community influence, and westernization (in status symbols, prestige and conspicuous consumption), were largely fostered by the liberation movement. The African National Congress directly or indirectly laid great stress on western education, entry into white-collar jobs, and western style of living. Alliances of Congress with White organization (Congress of Democrats) indicated the road the liberation movement was following: that is, the road to complete integration and assimilation with European culture. Small wonder then, that the executive of Congress and its sister Indian and White organizations were dominated by the bourgeoisie, professionals and upper-income groups. All the Presidents-General of Congress were either European or American trained medical doctors or lawyers, or held prominent positions in their community (such as Chief Albert Luthuli). It

³Ibid., p. 102.

is interesting to note that during periods of Government pressure on the liberation movement, traders, teachers, and civil servants (including radio announcers, journalists of Government financed newspapers and ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church) were among the first to drop out of the movement. Traders' Associations strongly supported the separate development policies of the Nationalist Government in the early sixties. A few Africans took an active part in helping the State suppress leaders of the liberation movement by acting as secret police (the special branch), State informers and State prosecutors. They were most active in 1961 during the Sharpeville massacre and the state of emergency with its ninety-day detention and house arrests.

Community power and influence in Soweto remained the monopoly of Congress leaders and a few prominent traders. Their power and influence was limited to the informal social structure. They had influence in so far as they organized mass meetings, protest marches, and in their unofficial representation of African opinion. They were held in high esteem by the community. Traders, from my observation, enjoyed less esteem than the Congress leaders. However, they were influential in the township business circles and in the Government patronized Advisory Boards. Their right wing attitudes towards the Nationalist Government and their lack of higher education placed them very low in Soweto's status and "power" structure.

Finally, while it can be postulated that industrialization contributed to "the breakdown of ethnic particularism among Africans, and

to the rise of militant, politically conscious, urban masses,"⁴ it is misleading to believe that urban Africans in Soweto were completely assimilated to the western values and norms. It is equally misleading to regard them as urban communities with strong traditional attachments (such as Pauw's migrants in his study of East London⁵). A large number of urban Africans in Soweto had lost their rural homelands' ties and had little clue about African traditional style of life and customs. They were largely products of township conditions and seemed to have developed their own "township" sub-culture in a similar manner to that of the Afro-Americans in large urban centres in the United States. An African journalist from Soweto described this phenomenon in the following manner:

Who are my people? I am supposed to be a Pondo but I don't even know the language of that tribe. I was brought up in a Zulu-speaking home, my mother being a Zulu. Yet I can no longer think in Zulu because that language cannot cope with the demands of our day. I could not, for instance, discuss negritude in Zulu . . . I have never owned an assegai or any of the magnificent tribal shields . . . I am more at home with an Afrikaner than with a West African. I am a South African . . . 'My people' are South Africans. Mine is the history of the Great Trek. Gandhi's passive resistance in Johannesburg, the wars of Atewayo and the dawn raids which gave us the treason trials in 1956. All these are South African things. They are part of me⁶

⁴Van den Berghe, South Africa, p. 280.

⁵Pauw, op. cit., "It is obvious that the great majority of Bantu townspeople in East London . . . have been drawn predominantly from reserves not too distant from East London." p. 2.

⁶Nakasa, Nat, "Its Difficult to Decide My Identity," Classic Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1966, p. 50.

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